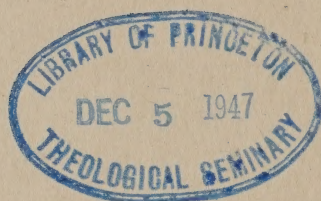


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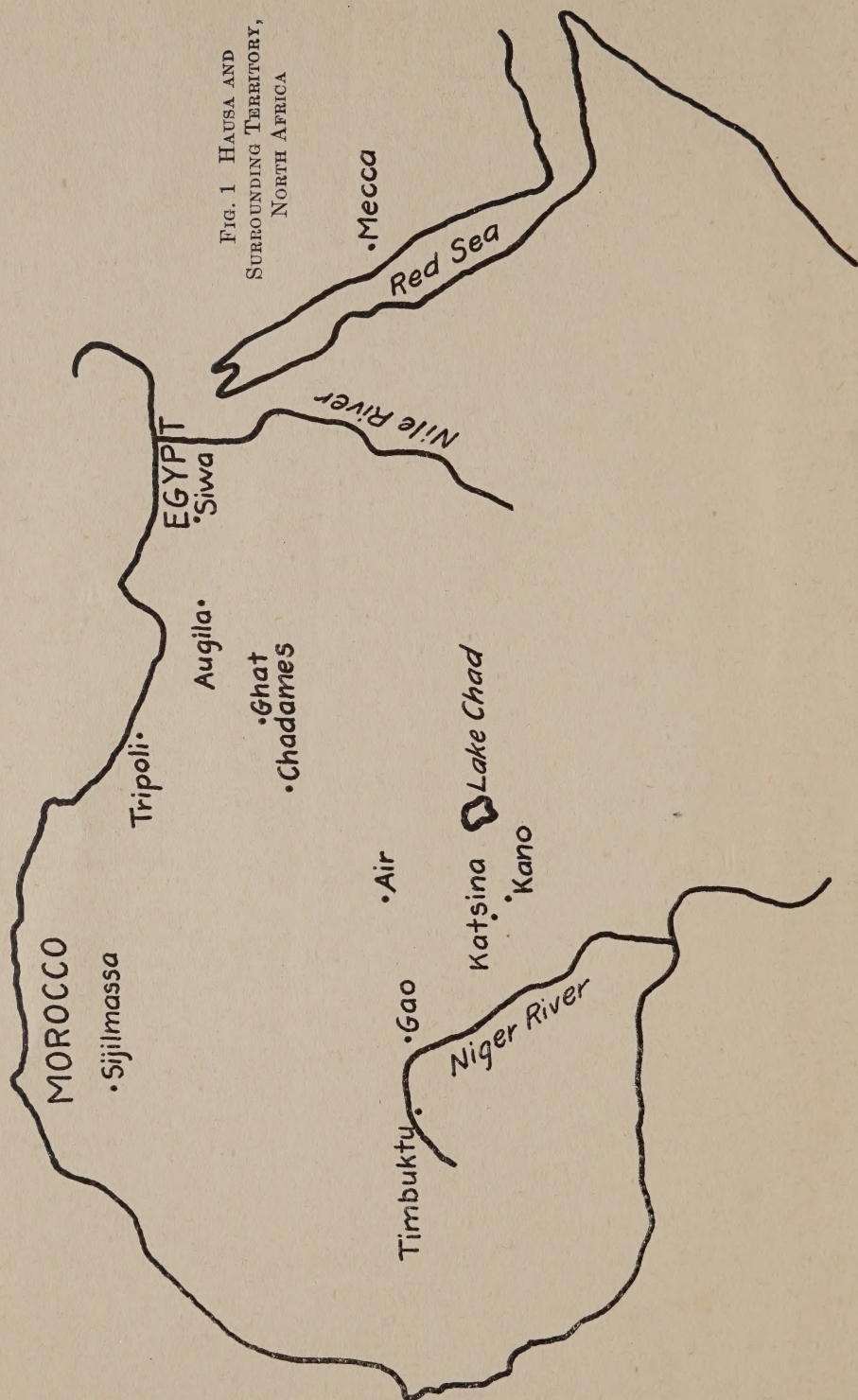
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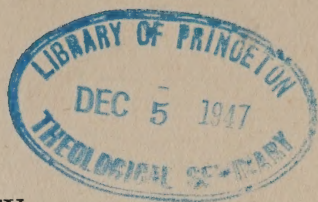
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THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON
A SUDANESE RELIGION

FIG. 1 HAUSA AND
SURROUNDING TERRITORY,
NORTH AFRICA





MONOGRAPHS OF THE
AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Edited by MARIAN W. SMITH

X

JOSEPH ✓ GREENBERG

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON
A SUDANESE RELIGION



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PREFACE

The subject of the present study is the effect of Islam on the religious beliefs and practices of a Negro people. The group which was selected for this research consists of the inhabitants of Kano in Northern Nigeria with its surrounding rural districts. These folk constitute an important section of the Hausa-speaking peoples of the Central Sudan. The region chosen seemed to offer certain advantages for a study of the kind contemplated. There was a large amount of control of conditions of contact in the form of authentic historical records. Islamic influences had been at work a sufficient period for their effects to be judged; yet in the rural districts there remained a population which was still pagan and represented to a considerable degree the culture of the Hausa of this region prior to Moslem contact. In conformity with this situation, field studies were made both in Kano city, where Moslem influence had been most intense, and among the rural pagans. Of the eleven months devoted to field research (October 1938 to August 1939), five and one-half months were spent in Kano city, four months in the district of Gwarzo among the pagans of Jigawa and neighboring villages, and one and one-half months among a mixed Moslem and pagan population at 'Dan Zabuwa in the district of Bichi.

This work was carried on as a Field Fellow of the Social Science Research Council, under the auspices of Northwestern University and the results were submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy requirements at this university. I am grateful to the American Ethnological Society for publishing the study and to Dr. Marian W. Smith for her aid and advice in preparing the manuscript for publication.

I wish to express here my gratitude to His Excellency, Sir Bernard Bourdillon, and his staff, for the courtesies extended to me during my stay in Nigeria, and especially to Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Elliot for their helpfulness to me in Kano; I likewise wish to thank the Emir of Kano and the Hausas who served as informants, or in other capacities. I am under considerable obligation to Miss D. G. Brackett and Major Hanna Vischer of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and to Mr. C. T. Wasson, American Consul at Lagos, for courtesies extended to me. I also appreciate the suggestions as to field-work procedure and unpublished data placed at my disposal by Mrs. Frances S. Herskovits and Dr. William R. Bascom, and the constant advice and training given me by

Professor M. J. Herskovits, under whose direction this study was carried on.

The system of rendering Hausa employed in the present work rests on an analysis the results of which have been described in *Language*.¹ The following points are to be noted: The three phonemes of tone are indicated by placing above the vowel symbol an acute accent for the high tone, a grave accent for the low tone and a circumflex accent for the compound tone resulting from the contraction of a high tone and a following low one. A macron is placed over a long vowel, while short vowels are left unmarked. *Kw*, *k'w*, *gw*, *ky*, *k'y* and *gy* are all unit phonemes, the first three being labialized and the last three palatalized sounds. 'd and 'b represent implosives and *k'*, *c'* and 'y ejectives.² *r* is a flapped sound, and *R* a rolled one. In the Arabic words in this text ' indicates a glottal stop and ' a pharyngeal. In Hausa words the initial glottal may be represented by either sign. Also, vowel length has been indicated in the tables by both macron and raised dot. The use of these alternatives is the result of an initial oversight.

¹ Greenberg, 1941.

² These sounds are described in Westermann and Ward, 1933, pp. 92-98.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL CONTACTS OF KANO WITH MOHAMMEDAN CULTURE





The Arab writers generally divide North Africa into two parts: the Maghrib or West, and Egypt. The consensus of Arab geographical authorities places the dividing line either at the boundary of Egypt or somewhat to the west, thus including Barka (Cyrenaica) in the Egyptian area.¹ The Maghrebine, or western area, which far exceeds Egypt in extent is generally divided into three parts: Ifrikiya on the east, including Tripoli and Tunis, the middle Maghrib (*maghrib al wustā*) comprising Algeria, and the farthest Maghrib (*maghrib al 'aqṣā*) or Morocco. At the time when Spain was under Mohammedan domination it was often reckoned as a part of the Maghrib to which it was closely affiliated culturally.

The Maghrib is not an artificial construction of the geographers. It has a cultural unity based upon patterns distinctive from those of the rest of the Moslem world. The focus of the area is in Morocco where the cultural features characteristic of the Maghrib exhibit their most pronounced development. The entire Maghrebine region is characterized ethnically by a Berber substratum. This is overlaid by an Arab population which becomes successively less important as one moves away from its eastern limits. Morocco, in the extreme west, is indisputably Berber country. The Berber language is still spoken by a large section of the population. The Arabic dialects of western North Africa are distinctive, being marked by an extraordinary development of initial consonant clusters, a linguistic feature which is reminiscent of Berber and perhaps due to its influence.² In the "official" manifestation of Islamic belief and practice,³ the entire western area exhibits highly individual features which go back to the early formative centuries of Mohammedanism. One particularly marked exam-

¹ This is done by Ibn Khaldun, vol. 1, pp. 193-194.

² The Arabic dialects of the Maghrib give other evidences of a separate and highly characteristic development. We may mention here the extension of the *n* prefix of the first person plural imperfect to the singular as a unique feature of the dialects of this region. The use of *n* as the prefix of the first person singular has also been noted in some portions of the eastern Sudan so that this usage is not confined to North Africa.

³ By "official" Islam is meant those aspects of belief which are embodied in the canonical works of Islamic theology and law.

ple is the script, with its characteristic angular forms that seem to be a development of the early Kufic monumental style. In the rest of the Moslem world, the scripts have developed from the rounded or Naskhi form. In the use of the diacritics to distinguish similarly written consonants, we find *f* and *q* differentiated as  and  respectively, in contrast to the eastern  and . The alphabetical arrangement, both the ordinary one and 'abajada, in which the letters are assigned numerical values, differs from that of the other Mohammedan lands. In all these features, the script of the Maghrib exhibits an archaic flavor. Forms which went out of use farther east almost a thousand years ago still flourish.

Another distinction between the "official" Islam of the Maghrib and other Mohammedan regions is to be found in the exclusive predominance of the Malikite school of law. The Malikite is one of the four orthodox "rites" (*madhhab*) which developed during the ninth century. Its founder, Malik ibn Anas, was a native of Medina. Through the zealous activities of his students, his doctrines were soon diffused far and wide, especially toward the west. In other regions of the Mohammedan world, where the Malikite rite had received an early diffusion, it was replaced by later schools. In the Maghrib, however, and, it should be added, in parts of Upper Egypt, the Malikite rite has maintained its dominant position up to the present.

Most of the popular beliefs that are reported from the Maghrib can be matched from other Mohammedan areas. However, the concept of *baraka*, an impersonal force of the *mana* variety, while it exists everywhere among Mohammedans to some degree, has undergone, especially in Morocco, a development so unique and elaborate as to constitute a distinctive cultural feature of the religion.⁴ The term *baraka*, the literal meaning of which in Arabic is "blessing," is used to denote a mysterious force, the source of which is God. It is possessed to a particular degree by holy men but may also reside in animals, plants, and inanimate objects. The institution of the 'ār, a conditional curse whose fulfillment depends upon the failure of the "saint" upon whom it has been placed to carry out a request, is also peculiar to the focal area of Morocco.⁵ In the Maghrebine area, charms are generally sewn in rectangular pieces of leather and worn around the neck. Finally, mention may be made of the distinctive type of decoration, commonly known as Moorish. This style based on the use of the eight-petalled rosette, derives according to Westermarck from the use of the hand as a prophylactic against the evil eye.⁶

Egypt constitutes the other main cultural focus in North Africa. To

⁴ Seligman, 1930, p. 141, calls this development "overwhelming." For an extended discussion of *baraka*, Westermarck, 1916, may be consulted.

⁵ For the 'ār, see Westermarck, 1926, vol. 1, p. 22.

⁶ Westermarck, 1904, is devoted to this thesis.

characterize its main features briefly, the ethnic substratum is Coptic, the script is of the standard eastern Mohammedan variety and the dominant legal school is the Shafi'ite. In Egyptian popular belief, the feature that strikes the observer is the large role played by spirit possession. This takes two forms, possession by dead saints (*šēh*), which is the traditional form, and the *zār* cult imported from Abyssinia within the last century and a half.⁷ The belief in the *qarīn*, or soul double, possibly a survival of the Egyptian *ka*, is also peculiar to Egypt.⁸ The use of semi-precious stones and of images of fishes and animals made of pearls, reminiscent of the ancient Egyptian *ushebti* figurines, is another Egyptian trait.⁹

Three dominant trade routes lead southward across the Sahara to the Sudan from the North African areas just defined. The Sudan could be reached from the extreme west by a relatively short crossing of the Sahara, from Sijilmasa in southern Morocco to the region of the central Niger. A direct route, containing some long, arduous stages, runs from the eastern Maghrib. Starting from Tripoli, this route reaches Hausa country in the central Sudan by way of Murzuk, Ghat, and Agades. Finally, Egypt communicates with the Eastern Sudan through the Nile Valley.

These avenues of communication have not been of equal importance for the diffusion of Mohammedan practices in the Sudan. As will be abundantly illustrated, the historical materials show that Islam first reached the Sudan by the extreme western route. It is understandable, therefore, that the western Sudanese region, which constitutes its southern terminus, was the area in which a secondary culture center was established from which Islamic doctrines, taking the specific and highly characteristic Maghrebine forms received from Morocco, spread farther eastward to the Hausa countries and even beyond.

The direct route from Tripoli to the Hausa states seems not to have been greatly used in early times. Later, however, when unsettled political conditions in the western Sudan led to a decline in the importance of the route which connected it with Morocco, this central route came into prominence and, as a result, the Hausa states about 1600 A. D. entered a period of commercial prosperity. Culturally, though, contact with the Tripolitan region merely reinforced those earlier Maghrebine influences which had come in more typical form from Morocco.

Egypt, by contrast with the western part of North Africa, was a negligible influence in the central Sudan in earlier times. This is at least partially accounted for by the geographical barriers imposed by the upper reaches

⁷ For possession by saints, see especially Winkler, 1936; for the *zār* cult, Kahle, 1912 and Seligman, 1914.

⁸ This is the explanation advanced by Seligman, 1913.

⁹ Modern Egyptian charms of this kind are described by Deonna, 1926.

of the Nile. At any rate, it is a striking fact that Islam in its Egyptian form did not penetrate Wadai, a land west of the upper Nile and far to the east of Lake Chad, until the seventeenth century. Communication between the Hausa states and Egypt, until very recent times, seems not to have been by this road but to have been incidental to the pilgrimage to Mecca. The favorite pilgrim's route from Hausa country followed the road to Tripoli as far as Murzuk in southern Libya. At this point it branched to Augila and the oasis of Siwa in western Egypt, whence it continued by way of Cairo to its destination.

Why was the extreme western route so important in early times? Why, for example, was this the avenue followed by all of the Arab travelers of the Middle Ages who visited the Sudan? For one thing, it was the shortest way, because at this point the northward bend of the central Niger materially reduced the distance from North Africa to the Sudan. Again, the presence of alluvial gold in the upper Senegal and Niger regions and of salt mines in the western Sahara (salt is a commodity utterly lacking in the Sudan) gave the basis for a lucrative trade, though other goods for which there was demand, notably slaves from the Sudan and the manufactured articles of medieval Europe from the north, likewise encouraged contact. Of this trade, the central Niger region was the natural focal point. The decisive factor, however, in the high development attained by this commerce seems to have been the existence of Negro empires in the Sudan, large and well-ordered political organizations which provided the peace and security under which trade could flourish.

Here, as everywhere in the history of Islam, the avenue of trade was the avenue of the propagation of religion. At the time that we get our first real glimpse of conditions in the western Sudan, the political scene is dominated by the empire of Ghana.¹⁰ At this time, the initial period of Islamic penetration, through the influence of Moslem traders, marked by the sporadic conversion of rulers and the elite who were their following, was drawing to its close. For within a few years after El Bekri wrote his description of Ghana, the Almoravid leader, Abu Bakr, in 1062, was to initiate, by predominantly warlike means, a period of intense proselytization in the Sudan.

¹⁰ Our first trustworthy information about the western Sudan comes from El Bekri who, although he did not visit the Sudan himself, seems to have obtained his account from those who did. A century before El Bekri, Ibn Haukal visited these regions. His attitude is expressed in the following words: "I have not described the country of the African blacks and the other peoples of the torrid zone; because naturally loving wisdom, ingenuity, religion, justice, and regular government, how could I notice such people as these, or magnify them by inserting an account of their countries?" (Quoted in Bovill, 1933, p. 34.)

El Bekri describes the city of Ghana itself as consisting of two parts, one Moslem and one pagan, and although its king was a pagan, the important positions of vizier and treasurer were held by Moslems.¹¹ In other centers, Islam had likewise gained a foothold which in El Bekri's day was of recent origin. The manner of conversion recorded as having occurred at Mallil at this time may be cited as typical of the manner in which Islam spread in the Sudan.¹² Here, after a period of prolonged drought the king, on the advice of a Moslem who was his guest, consented to pray in the Mohammedan fashion. Rain fell soon afterwards and the king became a devout Moslem. According to El Bekri:

Il demeura sincerement attaché a l'islamisme, ainsi, que sa posterité et ses intimes; mais la masse du peuple est encore plongée dans l'idolatrie. Depuis lors, ils ont donné à leur souverain le titre d'El Moslemani.¹³

El Bekri likewise states that the city of Kougha (Gao), on the lower Niger, was Moslem, while the surrounding rural districts were pagan.¹⁴ This represented the most easterly extension of Mohammedan influence in the Sudan. The Hausa states, at this period, were evidently pagan and all but unknown to the outside world. The rise of the Almoravid power brought about the downfall of Ghana, which was captured by Abu Bakr in 1076. After this defeat Ghana continued to decline until it was finally destroyed by the rising power of Mali in 1240.

The Mandingo kingdom of Mali which succeeded Ghana as the great power of this region, did not reach its full height until the fourteenth century. The pilgrimage to Mecca made by the celebrated Mansa Musa, its sovereign, in 1324, was recorded by the Arab historians of the day. In 1353, during the reign of Mansa Musa's successor, Mansa Soleiman, the great traveler Ibn Battuta visited the Sudan. Ibn Battuta noted with approval the enthusiasm which the people of Mali displayed for Islam as evidenced by the great crowds which congregated at Friday prayers, by the numbers of people who knew the Koran by heart, and by the libraries of the most recent works in Arabic literature to be found in the homes of many of the chief men.¹⁵

During this period the Mandingo were actively preaching Islam to those Negroes who were still pagan. As part of this activity, an event

¹¹ El Bekri, p. 328.

¹² The identification of Mallil with Mali, the capital of the Mandingo empire which later rose to prominence, is doubtful.

¹³ El Bekri, p. 334.

¹⁴ Gao became the capital of the Songhai empire which was the dominant power in the Sudan in the sixteenth century.

¹⁵ Ibn Battuta, vol. 5, p. 363.

unnoticed by the Arab or Sudanese historians but of great importance for the Hausa and, in particular, for Kano, took place. In the reign of Yaji at Kano (1349-1385), to quote the words of the Kano Chronicle,¹⁶ "the Wangarawa came from Mele bringing the Mohammedan religion."¹⁷ There were about forty men in the party. They built a mosque at Kano and Yaji appointed one of their number as Muezzin and another as Liman to lead the prayers. He also appointed an Alcali (judge) to judge cases according to Mohammedan, presumably Maliki, law.

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, Gao, the Songhai center on the lower Niger, gained its independence from the Mandingo Empire which was then in its decline, and in the succeeding century it became the dominant power in the Niger region. Under the famous Askia el Hajj the Songhai Empire reached its zenith, and Timbuktu attained its greatest glory as an intellectual center.

It was at this time that the Hausa states first came into contemporary notice. Leo Africanus, the celebrated traveler, visited not only Gao, but the Hausa states of Gobir, Katsina and Kano. He states that they had been conquered by Askia el Hajj and were now tributary to Songhai.¹⁸ Further evidence of close intercourse between the Songhai Empire and the Hausa cities is to be found in the *Tarikh es Sudan*.¹⁹ At this time it was the fashion for Songhai notables to return from their pilgrimage to Mecca by way of Kano and Katsina. The *Tarikh es Sudan* mentions several instances of this. A Moroccan, Makhlof ben Ali ben Salih el Bilbali, visited Kano and Katsina, taught there and returned to Morocco where he died in 1533.²⁰ El Tezakhti, a Sudanese scholar, met the famous reformer, El Maghili, at Takedda, studied at Mecca with El Nuwairi, and on his return to the Sudan settled in Katsina, where he was appointed Alcali by the king and where he died in 1529. Ali Folen, an adviser of Askia el Hajj, went to Kano intending to proceed to Medina, but died in Kano in 1528.

Before discussing the manner in which these events are reflected in the native sources, the main events in Kano since the arrival of the delegation from Mali in the fourteenth century may be summarized. It will be recalled that Yaji, who was king of Kano at the time of their visit, was converted to Islam. His son, Kanajeji, reverted to paganism, but Kanajeji's successor, Umaru is described as a Malam (learned man), earnest in prayer,

¹⁶ The Kano Chronicle is a native history of Kano written in Arabic.

¹⁷ Palmer, 1908, p. 76.

¹⁸ Leo Africanus, vol. 3, p. 830.

¹⁹ The *Tarikh es Sudan* was written in the early part of the seventeenth century by Es Sa'di, a native of Timbuktu.

²⁰ Sa'di, p. 64.

who renounced his office as a worldly vanity. The king who succeeded him, Yakubu (1452-1463), was also a Moslem. According to the Chronicle:

In Yakubu's time the Fulani came to Hausaland from Mele bringing books on Divinity and Etymology. Formerly our doctors had in addition to the Koran only the books of Law and the traditions.²¹

This Fulani invasion marks a second turning-point in the contact of the Hausa with Mohammedanism. For while the Wangarawa of Mali came in small numbers and were never reinforced, the arrival of the Fulani was but the spear-head of a great ethnic movement which continued in increasing strength until, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, these people eventually gained political control of the country.²² The Fulani were a powerful factor in the Mohammedanization of the Hausa because they had been thoroughly indoctrinated with Mohammedan beliefs during their stay in Mali. In the reign of this same Yakubu we have our first mention of Arab merchants in Kano:

In the following year merchants from Gwanja began coming to Katsina.²³ Beriberi came in large numbers, and a colony of Arabs arrived. Some of the Arabs settled in Kano and some in Katsina.²⁴

This brings us to the period of the visits of Songhai notables to Kano and Katsina, and the reputed conquest of the Hausa states by Askia el Hajj which, it will be remembered, occurred about 1515. Curiously, none of the men described in the *Tarikh es Sudan* as having visited Kano during the period of Songhai ascendancy are mentioned in the Kano Chronicle. The conquest of Kano by Songhai is likewise passed over in silence, a silence usually explained not by any patriotic desire to conceal the defeat of Kano, but simply because of a lack of interest in events other than those involving the local concerns of the Hausa states.²⁵ The Abderrahman who is described in the Kano Chronicle as leading a group of Sharifs (reputed descendants of Mohammed) in the reign of Mohammed Rumfa (1463-1499) is, however, usually identified with Muhammed Abdulkarim el Maghili, the famous reformer, who is said to have visited Kano en route to Gao after instituting a massacre of the Jews at the oasis of Tuat in North Africa.²⁶

²¹ Palmer, 1908, p. 76.

²² According to the 1920 census, the Fulani, 1,112,004 in number, made up 32.3% of the population of Kano province. Meek, 1925, vol. 2, p. 181.

²³ This refers to the trade in kola nuts with the Gold Coast. The southern terminus of this route was at Gwanja.

²⁴ Palmer, 1908, p. 76.

²⁵ Shaw, 1905, p. 255.

²⁶ This visit of El Maghili to Kano is vouched for by Ibn Meryam as indicated

The reign of Rumfa is remembered in oral tradition at Kano as a time of Islamic revival. Rumfa was a contemporary of Ibrahim Maji at Katsina (1494-1520), which witnessed a similar increase in Muslim influence at this time.²⁷

At the end of the sixteenth century an event occurred which proved to hold profound significance for the entire Sudan. After a dispute with Songhai over the ownership of the salt mines of Taghaza, in the Sahara, Mulay Ahmed el Mansur, the Sultan of Morocco, launched an expedition across the desert. It was a small force, and it suffered heavily from hardships on the way. However, being equipped with guns, which were up to that time unknown in the Sudan, it easily defeated the Songhai army. The result of this conquest was not, as might have been expected, an intensification of the relations of the Sudan with North Africa, for the Sultan could not retain control over a region so remote from Morocco and after some years the local pashas who were his representatives declared themselves independent. The Moroccans failed to hold control over most of the vast region which had been under Songhai control. In fact, their domination was soon limited to the city of Timbuktu itself, where the troops did nothing more than terrorize the population and act as a praetorian guard, elevating and deposing pashas with bewildering rapidity.

These events mark a turning point in the history of the Sudan. For whereas up to the time of the Moroccan conquest the Hausa had only been in contact with North Africa through the states of the middle Niger, from then on, because of the chaotic conditions in the Niger region, trade moved east and the Hausa states entered a period of great prosperity and commercial developments. Arab traders first came in numbers to Gobir, in northwestern Hausa country, and then to Kano and Katsina, where they developed the direct trans-Saharan route from Kano through Agades, Ghat, and Murzuk to Tripoli.

This change was also important in influencing the cultural development of the Hausa. The first period of contact with the west had given Islam as practiced by the Hausa a definite Maghrebine stamp in fundamentals. The script still in use in Hausa country is the one developed in Timbuktu

in Delafosse, 1912, vol. 1, p. 219, note, and by Ahmed Baba, in the *Tekmilet* ed Dibaj (Cherbonneau, 1855, p. 396). In the obviously folkloristic account of the introduction of Islam into Kano from Bornu in the time of the second caliph Omar (ruled, 624-634), of which almost identical versions are to be found in Lippert and Mischlich, 1903, p. 225, and in Rattray, 1913, vol. 1, p. 8, a prominent role is assigned to El Maghili.

²⁷ The reign of Ibrahim at Katsina is treated in the *Katsina Chronicle*, Palmer, 1928, vol. 3, p. 81. It was this king who appointed El Tezakhti as Alcali (see p. 19 above).

as a variety of that current in Fez, in the Maghrib.²⁸ The Malikite school of law is the only one known to the Hausa.²⁹ When, however, after the downfall of the Songhai Empire, the direct route to Tripoli became important, influences from quarters other than the western Maghrib began to be manifest. Merchants from Ghadames, Tripoli, Murzuk, and Cairo settled in Kano. A regular trade in Egyptian goods developed, and perfumes, incense, the more expensive inks, mirrors, and Maria Theresa dollars used in silver work were brought regularly.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century a wave of Islamic revivalism appeared. The rise of the puritanical Wahabi movement in Arabia itself was followed by a great expansion of the Moslem orders in North Africa, particularly the Tijaniya and Qadiriya, and this development found an echo in the Sudan. The Fulani, who were numerous in all the Hausa states, declared a holy war, *jihād*, on the ground that the old rulers of the Hausa states, although they professed to be Mohammedans, still continued their pagan customs. Under the leadership of 'Usman 'dan Fodio, a Gobir Fulani preacher, they conquered all the important Hausa states and founded an empire with Sokoto as its capital and 'Usman 'dan Fodio as the Sarkin Musulmi.³⁰ Kano was conquered along with the other Hausa states, and the old Kutumbawa dynasty was replaced by Fulani of the Sulli'bawa clan.

It is usually said that Mohammedanism made great progress under the Fulani rulers. Certainly heavy poll-taxes were levied upon the pagans and there was a certain amount of forcible conversion; yet the Fulani rulers can hardly have been as active in the spread of the faith as is usually assumed. In a work published in 1885, a native is quoted as saying:

From its beginning up till now Kano has been a large city. There are no pagans seen in it, but only Mussulmen; but in the country, in small towns and not far from it, many pagans are met with.³¹

Apparently after seventy years of the Fulani rule, large numbers of pagans were still to be found in the rural districts close to the city.

Conversion to Islam has, however, progressed at an accelerated pace since the English took control in 1907. The greater ease and security of communication that resulted from the suppression of native warfare has undoubtedly been an important factor in the spread of Mohammedanism in the rural districts. At the present time the pagans are but a small remnant that is rapidly disappearing. In fact, it would not be at all surprising

²⁸ Houdas, 1886; article "Arabia" in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 388.

²⁹ For the Malikite school of law, see p. 2 above.

³⁰ Sarkin Musulmi, "king of the Moslems," is the Hausa equivalent of the Arab *'amīru 'lmu'minīna*, "Commander of the Faithful."

³¹ Schön, 1885, p. 182.

if within another two or three generations of absorption the process which began hundreds of years ago at last reached its conclusion with the conversion to Islam of all the people of Kano and the surrounding country.

From the historical account just presented it is evident that the contacts between native Negro inhabitants of Kano and Mohammedan folk were brief and intermittent, the acculturating element being in effect the books in which Mohammedan doctrines are contained. This impression is strengthened when one sees the very minor role played at the present time by Arab traders as compared to the all-important part played in this process by the Fulani learned men, or Malams. Thus amalgamation of Mohammedan and native belief did not take place in the main through intensive contact between peoples, but came about by a process in which the native learned class adapted what they found in the written and printed sources at their disposal to the native situation and in the process retained much of pagan belief, fitting these beliefs into a Moslem framework.

Before leaving the subject of the role which the literary transmission of cultural features may play in acculturative situations, it might be well to set forth the reasons for believing that the issue raised has wider implications than for just this study. The rise and spread of the great religions of the East—Buddhism, Christianity and Islam—appear to be examples of the manner in which the adaptation of theoretically immutable dictates of sacred writings to varying local conditions takes place through the agency of a learned class in communities where literary activity is a specialized occupation. The succession of primary sacred writings, commentaries and super-commentaries which we find accompanying the geographical spread of the great religions, is the expression in literary form of a developing accommodation on the part of the receiving group to the new ideas, and of these ideas in turn to the antecedent traditions of this group. In the case of Islam it is significant to note that the resolution of the conflicts which arise during this process receives official recognition in the concept of *'ijmā'*, "consensus," which has been elevated to one of the four basic sources of Islamic jurisprudence.³² The principle of *'ijmā'* may be summed up in the words, "Whatever the community of Islam has agreed upon at any time is of God."³³ *'Ijmā'* is a recognition in practice of the reality of the acculturative process, since by means of this principle, the solution arrived at by a community of conflicts arising from contact are

³² The other three are the Koran, *ḥadīth* "oral traditions," supposedly stemming from the Prophet, and *qiyās*, "analogy," which is the application of established principles to new situations. It is to be noted that in Islam, where religion is held to govern all behavior, *fiqh*, "jurisprudence," claims divine sanction.

³³ Mac Donald, 1903, p. 105.

effected even in those cases where the Word of God has had to give way before the usage of the community and could not be saved by the most accomplished casuistry. Lammens, for instance, notes that '*ijmā'* gave the stamp of approval to "the cult of the Prophet," the festivals ordained in his honor, such as that of the *mawlid*, "birth," belief in his miracles, a belief contradicted by the Koran, the existence and intercession of saints . . . innovations . . . opposed in principle to the spirit of Koranic monotheism."³⁴

One of the most striking phenomena accompanying this acculturative aspect of the spread of the great religions has been the accretion of originally independent elements into the religious complex, as a result of which, in the case of Islam, we can speak of Mohammedan civilization as a complete culture embracing practically all aspects of human activity. Within this complex the relative dates at which various elements were incorporated, or their status as Koranic, based on traditions of the Prophet or merely arising from customary usage, is a matter of indifference to the native of West Africa to whom it is presented. The Hausa makes this explicit in his distinction between *mūsūlūnčī*, "the Moslem way," and *māgūzānčī*, "the pagan way." In the former he includes Mohammedan elements of such diverse provenience and date of incorporation into Mohammedan culture as the pilgrimage to Mecca (which is Koranic), the five daily prayers (which are based on the traditions of the Prophet), the drinking of an infusion of the ink washed off a slate on which Koranic verses have been written (a procedure which developed at a rather early date and bears a general resemblance to the magical treatment of sacred texts in the Mediterranean area by adherents of previous religions), and the wearing of the turban and gown (a practice not prescribed by the Mohammedan religion, but habitual in North Africa and probably of fairly recent date).

In spite of the local variations that exist in Mohammedan culture, its unity, especially that of its basic religious practices expressed in written form, is so great that although Islam was presented to the Hausa through such diverse media as the Negroes of Mali and Songhai, the white Touaregs of the Sahara, and Arab traders from various regions of North Africa and the Near East, it is still possible to speak of the effect of Islam on the Hausa people as a single coherent process. While holding fast to this point of view, it has nonetheless been fruitful to seek to distinguish the roles of variants of Moslem culture in the progressive Mohammedanization of the Hausa. In the chapters which follow, therefore, the manner in which Islam was introduced and propagated in Hausa country from North Africa, the parts which the significantly different cultural regions of North Africa have played in the process have been indicated and their relative significance evaluated.

³⁴ Lammens, 1929, p. 95.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PAGAN HAUSA

The Maguzawa

In the preceding chapter mention was made of the existence of native ruling families which exercised sovereignty in the Hausa states at the beginning of the nineteenth century before the Fulani conquest. The pre-Fulani rulers of all these states claimed a common origin which is embodied in a legend well known everywhere in Hausa territory.¹ According to this account 'Abu Yazīd (his name in Hausa is often given the form "Bayajida") came from Baghdad and after a sojourn in Bornu, went to Daura, a country directly to the north of Kano. As a reward for his valor in killing a snake in a well which was preventing the people from drawing water, he was given the queen of Daura in marriage. His son, Bawo, is the reputed progenitor of six sons who conquered the six Hausa states which together with Daura are generally known as the "Hausa seven." These seven states are, according to one version, Daura, Gobir, Katsina, Kano, Zaria, Rano and Biram.² The name of the son of Bawo who conquered Kano is given as Bagabda. This same Bagabda figures in the Kano Chronicle as the first king of Kano and is described in a marginal note as the son of Bawo and the grandson of Bayajida.³ The descendants of Bagabda, who constituted the ruling dynasty in Kano up to the time of the Fulani conquest, are known as Kutumbawa. Members of this group are still to be found in Kano and their account agrees with that given in the Kano Chronicle. Although, as we have seen, the first conversion of a Kutumbawa king to Islam took place about 1350 A. D. and the majority of his successors

¹ Versions of this story may be found in Palmer, 1928, vol. 3, p. 123; Schön, 1885, p. 96; Barth, 1857, vol. 2, p. 81; and Meek, 1925, vol. 1, p. 74. Baghdad is not to be taken seriously as the place of origin of these people. Meek, 1925, vol. 1, p. 74, notes that, "All the Islamized tribes of the Sudan seek to establish a traditional connection with Mecca—or, if their history does not take them back to the time of the prophet—with Baghdad, the seat in later times of the Abbasid Caliphate." Examples of this tendency could be multiplied. Local traditions in Kano make the Kutumbawa originate at Ghat, north of the Sahara. This Abu Yazīd is possibly to be identified with the Abu Yazīd who led a Kharjite revolt in North Africa in the first part of the tenth century. After his defeat by the Fatimids he may have fled to the Sudan.

² Meek, 1925, vol. 1, p. 76.

³ Palmer, 1908, p. 76.

are described as Moslems, oral tradition in Kano and the evidence given by the Kutumbawa themselves show that while they prayed in the Moslem fashion and performed the other canonical duties they still retained pagan religious practices to a marked degree.⁴ This can be taken incidentally as further proof of how gradual was the spread of Mohammedanism at Kano.

When we investigate the Hausa-speaking pagans of Kano country, we find that they likewise describe themselves as Kutumbawa and closer examination reveals that the Kutumbawa group which formerly ruled in Kano and these rural Kutumbawa are branches of the same people. Their tribal marks are the same,⁵ and the domestic religious rites practiced by these two groups of people reveal a substantial identity. However, the Kutumbawa of Kano city, while retaining these rites, at the same time pray in the Moslem fashion. Another point on which they differ from their rural brethren is in the absence of patrilineal sibs of the type found among the latter. This absence of clan organization is perhaps due to the influence of Islam.

In the rural districts is another group of pagans who call themselves Katsinawa and their tribal marks are distinct from those of the Kutumbawa. These Katsinawa, who inhabit the eastern part of Katsina Emirate and extend into Kano, do not differ at all culturally from the Kutumbawa.⁶ The present description of pagan Hausa culture is based on ethnographic work done among the rural Kutumbawa and Katsinawa. This population will be referred to collectively as the Maguzawa, a term used by the Hausa to designate all Hausa-speaking pagans.⁷

The Cultural Context of Maguzawa Religion⁸

The village of Jigawa consists of scattered compounds, most of which are inhabited by Maguzawa. Among them, however, are a few compounds headed by Fulani who are the representatives of the Fulani chief called

⁴ The nature of these practices will be discussed below.

⁵ For an illustration of these tribal marks see Tremearne, 1911, illustration number 90.

⁶ This fact was ascertained in the course of an investigation of the mixed Kutumbawa, Katsinawa population studied at Lakwaya.

⁷ Maguzawa (singular, Bamaguje) is probably derived from the Arabic *majūsī*, "a Magian, Zoroastrian." Doutté, 1909, p. 248, notes that it is applied in the later Arabic literature to all kinds of heretics and unbelievers; for instance, the Normans of Sicily and the followers of the prophet Šāliḥ of the Bergwata of Morocco.

It will be observed that the words "Maguzawa" and "Kutumbawa" are not at all coterminous. The term "Maguzawa" excludes the Kano city Kutumbawa who are Moslem, while the Katsinawa pagans are not Kutumbawa.

⁸ This sketch of Maguzawa culture is limited in scope, its purpose being only to furnish the information needed to place in its proper cultural perspective the discussion of Maguzawa religion which follows.

the Sarkin Gari, "headman of the city," in whose hands is the local administration of the village. He lives in Gwarzo, a walled town of several thousand inhabitants a few miles away. These Fulani compound heads of the Jigawa transmit orders from the Fulani headman to the local Maguzawa, and keep the Sarkin Gari informed concerning local happenings. To the west of Jigawa is the village of Lakwaya whose center is its market, near which cluster compounds of Moslem Hausa and numerous scattered Maguzawa habitations. Between Lakwaya and Jigawa is a small hamlet, Jam Burji, inhabited exclusively by Hausa Moslems.

The town of Gwarzo, the center of the district, lies to the south of Jigawa. The dwellings of this town are made of mud brick—single-storied, honey-combed structures like those of Kano city that contrast with the circular grass-roofed huts with guinea corn stalk foundations to be encountered outside its walls. The inhabitants of Gwarzo, both Hausa and Fulani, are entirely Moslem, and in contrast to the Moslems of the rural hamlets there are a number of Mohammedan learned men who have studied at some time or other with important Malams in Kano city. About ten miles to the north of Jigawa lies Shanono, another town inhabited by Moslems. There are important markets at Lakwaya, Gwarzo, and Shanono, the first two of which are frequented by the Maguzawa of Jigawa, and here Moslem and pagan freely intermingle.

These Maguzawa are practically identical in language and material culture with the Moslem populations that surround them. It is only in certain aspects of their social organization and religion that they reveal significant differences when compared to the Moslem Hausa. Yet because it will be desirable to place those aspects of their culture to be described here in their total setting, an outline of the whole configuration will be given.

Maguzawa compounds are rectangular enclosures, usually entered by a corridor facing east or south, and marked off by a fence of guinea corn stalks (Fig. 2).

Within the compound are a number of huts and granaries whose arrangement is indicative of the membership and organization of the group who inhabit it. Residence being normally patrilineal, the core of the compound consists of a number of males related in the paternal line.⁹ The head of this group is the *màygídā*, "master of the house," and he is the undisputed ruler of the compound. The hut of the *màygídā* is always at the entrance, while directly opposite are the huts of his wives. Among the people of a compound each adult male with his wife or wives and children form a sub-group, and within these sub-groups each wife has a dwelling

⁹ Since there is no native word to designate this group, the somewhat clumsy phrase "patrilineal group" will be used.

consisting of two huts, an inner one for sleeping and an outer one for cooking during the rainy season and for industrial activities. A man may or may not have a dwelling of his own. To possess one is usually an indication that he is fully established in life; that is, that he possesses married sons with children, though in some compounds every adult male has his own hut. The dwellings of men are usually single huts, but sometimes

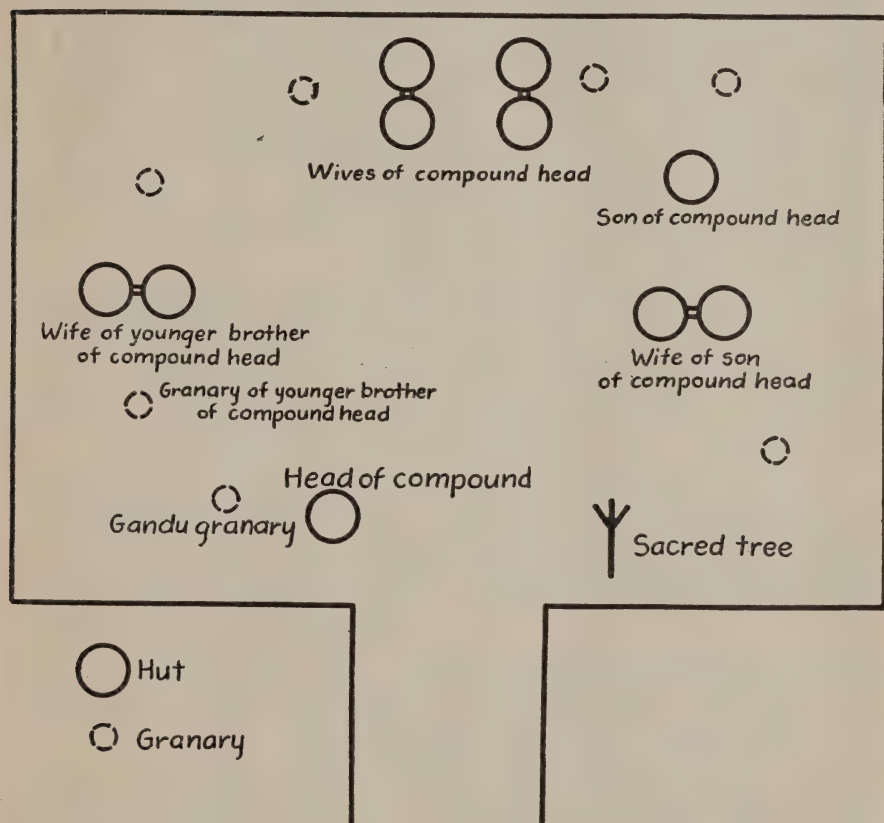


FIG. 2. DIAGRAM OF FAMILY COMPOUND

simple wooden shelters, *rùmfá*, are constructed in front of these huts to entertain male visitors.

Unless a man has a dwelling of his own, he goes to his wife's hut to sleep, remaining two nights in turn with each wife if he has more than one. Children sleep with their mother until they are old enough to have "sense," *wàyó*, i.e. until they are about five years old. After this, if their father has more than one wife, they sleep in the hut of a wife who is not with their

father that particular night. If this is not possible, they sleep with their grandmother or an old woman in the compound, and failing that, with an old woman in a neighboring compound. When a boy is circumcised, usually at about the age of eight, his father builds him a hut, and when he marries this structure becomes part of his wife's dwelling.

In pre-English times this picture was somewhat complicated by the problem of assimilating slaves into the pattern of family organization just described. These slaves fell into two main categories—young girls of marriageable age and children. Occasionally older men were bought, but men in their prime were rarely purchased because they were difficult to manage and often ran away. Young girls of marriageable age were bought as concubines by the master of the house, either for himself or for one of the older adult males of the compound. Such girls were treated as the equivalent of a wife in all domestic matters, and as soon as one of them bore a child she automatically became free.¹⁰

A child purchased as a slave was assigned by the compound-head to one of his own wives or to a wife of an adult male of the compound. Such a child was treated as the son or daughter of the woman to whom he was given. As a sign of their inferior status, however, these children were always called *k'ánè*; "younger brother," or *k'ánwà*, "younger sister," by the other children of their "mother" regardless of their actual relative age.

A slave boy on growing up was provided by the compound head with the money necessary to obtain a wife, who in such cases was almost invariably herself a slave girl. He was usually given the opportunity to emancipate himself by the payment of a specified sum, a promise to this effect being given by his owner in the presence of witnesses. Although this offer had no legal standing, in practice its terms were always adhered to. The freed man was considered a member of his former master's sib and was accepted as a full member of the community. Several of the present compound heads in Jigawa were formerly slaves.

The treatment of a slave girl differed because of her greater economic value to her master, who received the bride price paid by her husband and owned her offspring. Slave girls were never emancipated and continued to work in their owner's fields, even while living in their husband's compounds. The husbands of such girls received only sexual rights in their wives when they paid the bride price for them, their economic services still being retained by their master.

The core of the compound is thus seen to consist of a group of males

¹⁰ In this, as in other respects, the treatment of slaves among pagans and Moslems was similar. In Mohammedan law, a concubine who has borne a child to her master enjoys a special status and automatically becomes free on his death (Kairawani, p. 63: Khalil, vol. 2, pp. 781-783).

related in the paternal line. Succession to the leadership of this patrilineal group and with it to the headship of the compound is collateral, descending from the older brother to the younger brother, and when one generation has passed away, to the oldest surviving son of the oldest brother, and so on. This principle is quite automatic in its operation, and disputes over succession to the headship of the compound are said to be unknown.

The membership of a compound in the district of Jigawa varies from seven to ninety-six, averaging approximately nineteen. The reasons for this extreme variation in size are to be sought in the elasticity, both in theory and in practice, concerning the male kin who may and do inhabit a single compound. In considering this matter, it is convenient to distinguish actual brothers, having the same father, from those who are really parallel cousins, the sons of two brothers.¹¹ Brothers are expected to live together in the same compound, it being considered disgraceful if they separate, though this has occurred in several cases and has resulted in compounds for single families with membership ranging from seven to ten or twelve. As for cousins, while it is considered praiseworthy for them to remain in the same compound, they are not blamed if they choose to live apart. A few large compounds were found in which relatives related as remotely as the fifth or sixth generation in the paternal line continue to live together harmoniously. Such households were singled out for praise as models of good sense and mutual accommodation.

The chief means of subsistence is farming, the staple crop being guinea corn, with subsidiary though important plantings of millet, maize, cassava, sweet potatoes, rice, tomatoes, peppers, and peanuts. The chief non-food crops are the cotton and indigo used in native weaving and dyeing. Tobacco is of only minor importance.

All farm land is inherited in the male line and can only be owned by men, though, as will be seen later, women are assigned temporary shares for cultivation. The ancestral land, known as *gàndù*, is usually held collectively by a number of brothers, being considered as a trust placed in the care of the oldest brother, who may not alienate or sell any of it without the consent of his fellows. If at any time a younger brother wants his part of the *gàndù* land, it must be given him since each brother has the right to an equal share. Ordinarily, however, a younger brother does not ask for his share, but together with his wife and children works on the *gàndù* land of his family for four days a week during the agricultural season, from morning until sundown. During the evenings of these four days and on the other three days of the week, he is free to labor on his private plot,

¹¹ This distinction, which corresponds exactly to our own between a brother and a cousin, finds no expression in native terminology. For the native system designating kin, see p. 20 below.

called *gàyáwná*, which is temporarily separated from the *gándú* and assigned him by the *gándú* head.

The wives of the *gándú* head and his married sons also receive *gàyáwnás* for their private cultivation. A still smaller plot, the *gàyángàyán*, separated from the *gàyáwná*, may be assigned by the wife of a *gándú* head to her son upon circumcision. The proceeds from it are used to buy small presents for a girl he may be courting and to give a present to the drummers when they beat out a rhythm in her praise. A *gàyángàyán* may also be given by the younger brother of a *gándú* head from his *gàyáwná* to each of his wives. With the money derived from the sale of the crops raised on such land, a woman is expected to clothe herself and her children.

The corn obtained from the *gándú* is stored separately in a large granary next to the hut of the *gándú* head. This corn may not be touched until the following rainy season, when it must feed those who have worked on the *gándú* during the previous year. Normally there is a surplus of *gándú* corn, and this is sold; from the proceeds the *gándú* head provides agricultural implements for those who work on the *gándú*. He must also provide his younger brothers and his sons with the money they need to obtain their wives. On the other hand, those who have *gàyáwnás* are required to take turns in feeding the *gándú* head during the long dry season of eight or nine months. The aspect of this arrangement most prominent in the minds of the Maguzawa themselves, however, is the obligation often placed on a wife to provide for her husband during most of the year. This is why the natives often remark, "our women feed us."

When a younger brother's sons grow up and have children of their own, it is not expedient to keep the *gándú* undivided, since the younger brother's son will only have a *gàyángàyán* from his father's *gàyáwná* and this man's wife will be without any land of her own. It is, therefore, customary for the younger brother at this time to ask for his share of the *gándú*. He then becomes a *gándú* head, assigning *gàyáwná* to his wives and married sons, while his daughters-in-law receive *gàyángàyán*.

For most agricultural work a man and his wife can supply adequate labor-power. For more strenuous operations such as the task of reducing the guinea corn stalks growing from each hole to the number suited to their best growth, or for harvesting, resort is had to the institution of *gàyyá*, or co-operative farm labor. In this way a task that could not be completed by an individual in proper season is finished in one or two days. The *gàyyá* is presided over by a dignitary known as the Sarkin Hu'da "headman of the furrow," who, when notified by a *gándú* head that he wishes a *gàyyá*, informs every compound head in the vicinity to provide the necessary men. The general air of jollity which reigns on such occasions and the prospect of a good meal prepared by the women of the *gándú*

head's compound when the day's work is over is adequate appeal to insure enough manpower for the task in hand. An invariable feature of the *gàyyǎ* is the presence of drummers, summoned and paid for by the *gandū* head, who spur on the workers to greater efforts by beating out the rhythms of traditional verse in praise of the members of each participating compound.

Compared to farming, other economic activities play a minor role in the life of the Maguzawa. Only the smaller domestic animals are raised, cattle-keeping being in the hands of Fulani. These small animals are characteristically owned by the women, and a woman receives a goat or a few chickens from her husband upon marriage. The women sell goat's milk and the eggs laid by their fowl at the market, using the proceeds, together with the money obtained from the sale of grain from the private plots of their families, to clothe themselves and their children. This independent economic activity of the Maguzawa women is in striking contrast to the condition of the Moslem Hausa women who do no farm work and, in the city at least, are kept in seclusion when it is economically possible for their husbands to dispense with their services outside the household.¹² The Moslem Hausa institution of *c'árl'*, the seclusion of women, of course, is in imitation of the harem customs of the Arab world.

Various industrial preoccupations occupy the time of some men during the dry season, when agricultural activity is at a minimum. Among these are iron-working, weaving, dyeing, the making of pots, basketry and the manufacture of twine. Except in the case of iron-workers, these products are primarily for sale at local markets, where they are often bought by traders who carry the goods manufactured in the rural districts to Kano city. Iron-working, however, is largely restricted to the production of agricultural implements which are made on order by neighboring compounds. Iron ore was formerly mined on expeditions in which large numbers of iron-workers participated. At present, all iron is of European origin, and the pigs and scrap are purchased at the local markets. The only industrial activity of the women is spinning the cotton which they grow on their private plots. If some man in the family can weave, it will be sold directly to him, otherwise it is disposed of at the market.

Although Maguzawa are for the most part economically self-sufficient, many small objects, particularly household utensils and the Maria Theresa dollars worn by the girls as ornaments must be purchased.

The emphasis on the paternal line, so marked in all aspects of Maguzawa social life, receives no special recognition in the kinship terminology. Those who are related on the father's side are said to be *ná wàndó* 'dáyá, "of one trouser," while those related through the mother are *ná zánè*.

¹² This rests on a provision of Moslem law making the economic support of the wife incumbent on her husband (Khalil, vol. 2, p. 158).

'*dáyá*, "of one woman's cloth," or *ná nónò* 'dáyá, "of one milk." There is a term *dangi* which refers collectively to all one's kindred, both on the father's and mother's side. The words '*dán* '*úwá*, "son of a mother," are applied figuratively in an even wider sense, being appropriate, for example, to express the relationship between two inhabitants of the same city. The natives even say that an Englishman is the '*dán* '*úwá* of a Frenchman, because they are both white and come from Turay, "white man's country."

The system designating relationships is identical with that found among the Moslem Hausa. The number of terms is small and their application wide, the essential categories employed being, first, the sex of the person addressed, and, second, the generation, while within the speaker's own generation the system distinguishes age relative to the speaker. The following is a list of the terms in use with English equivalents:

- '*ubá*—father, father's brother, mother's brother, mother's sister's husband, great-grandfather, father-in-law
- '*uwá*—mother, mother's sister, father's sister, father's brother's wife, great-grandmother, mother-in-law
- kākā*—(with masculine grammatical inflections) paternal or maternal grandfather, grandfather's brother, great-uncle, great-great-grandfather
- kākā*—(with feminine grammatical inflections) paternal or maternal grandmother, grandmother's sister, great-aunt, great-great-grandmother
- wā*—older brother, older male cousin (whether parallel or cross-cousin), older sister's husband, wife's or husband's older brother
- k'ánè*—younger brother, younger male cousin (whether parallel or cross-cousin), younger sister's husband, wife's or husband's younger brother
- yā*—older sister, older female cousin (whether parallel or cross-cousin), older brother's wife, wife or husband's older sister
- k'ánwā*—younger sister, younger female cousin (whether parallel or cross-cousin), younger brother's wife, wife or husband's younger sister
- '*dā*—son, brother's or sister's son, cousin's son, son-in-law, great-grandson
- y'ā*—daughter, brother's or sister's daughter, cousin's daughter, daughter-in-law, great-granddaughter
- jíkà*—(with masculine grammatical inflections) grandson, great-great-grandson
- jíkà*—(with feminine grammatical endings) granddaughter, great-great-granddaughter
- míjì*—husband
- māčè*—wife

In connection with this system the following points are to be noted: the terms '*ubá* and *kākā* alternate in ascending generations, '*ubá* being used in the first, third, fifth, etc. ascending generations, and *kaka* in the second, fourth, sixth, etc. The same is true of '*dā* and *jíkà*, which refer in the descending generations to odd and even numbered generations respectively. The same holds true of the corresponding feminine terms.

It will have been noticed that no distinction is made in this system be-

tween consanguinal and affinal relatives. There are, however, two terms, *sùrukí* and *sùrukúwá*, masculine and feminine respectively, referring to those affinal relations between whom a reciprocal attitude of respect obtains. In actual address these are the only terms that may be employed between persons standing in this relationship, but in reference ordinary kinship terms may be substituted for them. Their primary use is between a man or woman and his spouse's father or mother. The junior relative shows his respect by such acts as dropping on his knees to greet the senior relative when he passes and by occasionally bringing small gifts. A somewhat smaller degree of respect is shown where the *sùrukáy* (plural of *sùrukí* and *sùrukúwá*) are of the same generation. A man shows respect for his younger brother's wife by refraining from entering her hut and by avoiding in her presence topics of conversation that might be regarded as indecent. A similar relationship obtains between a man and his wife's older brother and older sister and a woman and her older brother's wife.

On the other hand, a joking relationship, expressed by the term *wàsá*, "play," exists between those who would be potential mates if the junior levirate or sororate existed. For instance, there is "play" between a man and his older brother's wife, and a woman and her older sister's husband. In the camaraderie of this relationship those involved call each other "husband" and "wife," but sexual play never proceeds as far as actual intercourse. It must be pointed out, however, that no junior levirate and sororate exists at the present time, though some of the older men say that it was formerly customary to replace a husband or wife who had died by a younger brother or sister from the same household.

Great respect exists between parents and their first-born, or their first two children, whether male or female. This respect is shown primarily by the parent for the child, and takes the form of not engaging in conversation with the child in the presence of strangers, or even pronouncing the "true" name of the child given at birth. This name is, indeed, held so taboo in this context that if the name of the child is derived from a common word in the language, his parents must refrain from using it and instead employ a synonym for it. A man whose son's name was 'Dan Juma, "son of Friday," spoke of Friday as *rán gwáRzò*, "the day of Gwarzo", i.e., the chief market day of Gwarzo. It is also to be noted that a somewhat similar rule of "hiding the name" exists between a man or woman and his or her first spouse.

While the relationship between parents and children is one of respect and reserve, that between grandparents and grandchildren is marked by mutual play and an uninhibited public display of affection. A grandfather is always making toys of various kinds for his grandchildren. The grandchild steals small objects from the old man's hut and the bystanders

laugh at his ineffectual efforts to overtake the youngster. A similar relationship also obtains between parents and the last child born to any wife, the *'àwtá*. The *'àwtá* is proverbially a spoiled youngster, who may appropriate anything he wants from his parents or from his older siblings. His parents call him *jíkà*, "grandson," and this practice indicates the similarity of this relationship in the minds of the Maguzawa to that between grandchild and his grandparents. A joking relationship also exists between cross-cousins between whom, if they are of opposite sex, marriage is considered appropriate. At the time of the two Mohammedan festivals, of Ramadan and Zulhajji, a younger cross-cousin customarily asks the older one for *kú'dín šárá*, "*šárá* money," in former times nine cowries, at present an anini, the tenth of an English penny. This cross-cousin relationship, based on supposed descent from a brother and sister, has much wider ramifications, since it is also regarded as existing between certain Maguzawa sibs, and even between national and occupational groups in the region. A man of Katsina thus has the right to ask for *kú'dín šárá* from a native of Kano, while an iron-worker is the joking relative of a Touareg, or a Malam of a hunter.

The widest social grouping based on kinship is the patrilineal sib. Though sibs are not closely localized, there is a tendency for one sib to be the dominant group in a given locality. Since there are many sibs, the membership in any of them is quite small, being sometimes not more than three or four compounds with a total population of about 100 individuals. The sib performs no political function; there are no sib meetings or sib officers. The sib also lacks any discernible religious function. The fact that in the main the members of a sib worship the same deities is because rites are inherited in the same patrilineal line as the headship of each compound, so that since all the members of the same sib have presumably the same descent, they also worship the same spirits.

Members of a sib have in common the name, a verse of praise recited at the marriage ceremony of one of its female members, an obligation not to marry within it, and a number of taboos against burning certain kinds of wood and killing or eating the flesh of certain animals. The idea of kinship between the forbidden animal and the members of the clan is not held; rather it is simply believed that if the taboo is broken, a series of swellings will break out over the entire body.

When a child is born, a name is generally given it by someone present, usually the father's younger brother, termed the *k'arámín 'ùbá*, "small father," who replaces the father in this capacity because of the "shame," *kúnyà*, existing between parent and child. The name given at this time is the child's "true" name and is the one which will be "hidden" by his par-

ents. The name given may refer to the day of the week on which the child was born, or the time of day his birth occurred. Thus, a girl called Karofi, "dye pit," was so named because her mother was overcome with labor pains at this place. A boy who follows a number of sisters is called Tanko, and a girl born after a number of boys, Delu or Kande. A child, all of whose siblings have died before it, is called 'Ajefas, "let it be thrown away," or 'Ajuji, "on the dung heap," to divert God's attention from it. The first of twins to be delivered is called Hasan, if male, Hasana, if female, and the second Husayni, if male, and Husayna, if female. These names for twins are Mohammedan borrowings, being derived from the names of the two sons of 'Ali, the fourth caliph, and at once the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet.

On the seventh day after birth, a barber is called to shave the child's head. A goat or sheep of the same sex as a new-born child is killed on this day, and the meat distributed to those present and to the neighbors.

During the first few years of its life a child is likely to receive a second name; known as the *sûnân kâkânnî*, "name given by grandparents," which is usually derived from some physical characteristic of the infant or some trait of its behavior. Examples of such names are Dugunzuma, given to a baby with a long head, and Hana'ayki, "prevent work," given to a child who persisted in crying whenever his parents went off to the farm. The *sûnân kâkânnî* is very often the name by which a person is generally known; since it is not considered a person's true name, it can be used by the parents of a first-born child.

A boy is allowed to play at will until he is seven to nine years of age, when he is circumcised. At this time, as has been indicated, he receives a hut and field of his own. The operation, which marks his entry into the community as a functioning member, is of considerable importance since it is a prerequisite for marriage or any sexual activity, and an uncircumcised boy who dared court a girl would be laughed at. The operation itself is carried out by a Mohammedan barber, and its details are exactly the same for Moslems and for pagans.

No ceremony marks the attainment of puberty by a young woman; the occurrence of her first menstruation marks her as no longer a *yârtnyâ*, "girl," but a *bûdûrwâ*, "maiden." A period of free dalliance follows for her, ended by marriage which for girls occurs about the age of eighteen, for the boys at about twenty-one. During the earlier period no objections are raised by the parents when sweethearts sleep together. Pregnancy is said to result only rarely; when it does, the boy is subjected to pressure by his own parents to marry the girl. It is said that this pressure is invariably successful, since all families are of practically equal standing in the com-

munity, and none wants to stir up resentment. The presence of an illegitimate child is no barrier to marriage, though it lessens the amount of the bride price received by the girl's parents.

In the choice of a mate the initiative is usually taken by the young man who first "speaks" to the girl. If she agrees to his proposal, he informs his father's younger brother, who then passes on this word to his father, this being demanded by the canons of etiquette operative under the relationship of respect existing between parents and children. Thereafter all negotiations are carried on by members of the two families to determine the bride price, and when this has been fixed, a day is set by the bride's relatives for the marriage.

At the present time the marriage ceremony is performed on a Friday by a Mohammedan Malam, but it is preceded by a week of observances which are purely pagan in character. The chief event of this period is the removal of the bride to her mother's sister's house, where she stays for several days, henna being applied to her hands and feet. The bridegroom is similarly treated in his father's younger brother's house. On Friday morning, the bride's "friend," a girl chosen by her to play this part in the ceremony, is conducted, head covered, on a mare from the bride's house to the groom's house where she is met by the groom's "friend," the real bride having secretly come to the groom's house in the meantime. This procedure is believed to make it possible for her to avoid the harmful effects of the envious glances cast at her during this happy period of her life.

A man is not regarded as a full member of the community until he has married sons with children. A Maguzawa man's success in life is measured by the number of dependents that he has in his household who are capable of farm work. To retain a younger brother under one's control requires tact, and even where there is no dispute the younger man may leave and form another compound. Sons, however, always remain with their father, increasing his prestige and his economic resources. This is why the Maguzawa place such great emphasis on having many children and so strongly prefer sons to daughters, since the sons materially increase the amount of guinea corn raised by the members of the compound and controlled by its head. This is important since the most concrete expression of success is the ability to produce and control large amounts of this cereal. For *giyā*, "guinea corn beer," is made from it during the dry season when reciprocal invitations to drinking bouts are exchanged among the adult males of the community, and a man who has the largest amount of guinea corn will be in a position to extend the greatest number of invitations.

No independent political life survives among the Maguzawa, who have been under Fulani domination for over a century. The political offices held

by some compound heads, as will be seen, have little in the way of specific functions. Where these functions do exist, their exercise is always subject to the approval of a Fulani headman. The political unit among the Maguzawa is the village, *gàrî*, as defined by the Fulani fief system. Under this arrangement each village—which may be a walled town, a group of compounds erected close to each other, or a series of scattered compounds with an arbitrary boundary—was placed in charge of a local Fulani headman, the Sarkin Gari, “headman of the village,” who was responsible for local administration. Before the time of British control, as at the present, the village was the fundamental administrative unit. Formerly, however, each village in Kano country was attached to one of the important *hàkìmáy*, “ministers,” who lived in Kano city and attended upon the king. The *hàkìmí* appointed agents, *jàkádà*, to collect the taxes in the villages under his control, one of these being named for each village under the minister’s control. The *jàkádà* also functioned as liaison man between the minister in Kano city and the local Fulani Sarkin Gari.

Each village predominantly inhabited by Maguzawa today has a single Sarkin Noma, “headman of farming,” chosen by the compound heads with the approval of the local Fulani headman. The Sarkin Noma’s position is an honorary one, carrying no power of any importance. Thus though he may be called by his townsmen to settle a dispute over inheritance, the final decision is in the hands of the Fulani headman. The only emolument received by him is the traditional gift of one thousand cowries (this is represented at present by a sixpence), a mat, a jug of *gíyà*, “guinea corn beer,” and the thigh of a goat, given by a bridegroom at the time of his wedding. The Sarkin Noma is a *primus inter pares*, the titles of Sarkin ‘ARna, “headman of the pagans,” and Sarkin Dawa, “headman of the bush,” being of equal dignity. The title Sarkin ‘ARna is at the present time said to be awarded *ná šân gíyà*, “for drinking beer,” and is accorded the man who is in the position to give the greatest number of drinking bouts. The office of Sarkin Dawa, “headman of the bush,” is rarely filled today, since little bush remains and hunting, except for the killing of *gáfíyà*, “bush-rats,” has ceased to be anything except an avocation. In former times, however, the Sarkin Dawa led the communal hunt which took place in the dry season, and received as his share all animals over whose killing there was a dispute.

Each of the three men holding these titles, however, has his “assistants,” the premier position of the Sarkin Noma, “headman of farming,” being shown by the fact that his aides are the most numerous. The titles in use are the same as those of any Sarki, “headman,” in Kano country, including the Emir or Sarkin Kano, himself. The officials of the Emir, the *hàkìmáy*, “ministers,” bear titles of diverse historical origin. Some, as Sarkin Yak’i,

"headman of war," or Madawaki, "leader of cavalry," are of native Hausa derivation; others, such as Waziri, are Arabic; while the common titles Chiroma and Galadima come from Kanuri, the language of Bornu to the east. At Jigawa many of these titles are in use, but with the exception of the Sarkin Hu'da, "headman of the furrow," whose connection with the *gàyyá*, a form of co-operative farm labor, has already been described, none of these positions involve executive function.

CHAPTER THREE

MAGUZAWA RELIGION

As might be expected from the long period during which, as we have seen, the bush Maguzawa have been in contact with the Mohammedanized life of the cities, many Islamic elements have become thoroughly incorporated into Maguzawa culture. One of these elements is the belief in Allah as a supreme being.

The Maguzawa freely admit that Allah is the ultimate control of the universe. Yet He does not occupy the central role in their beliefs and practices that is so characteristic of the Moslem Hausa. Among the Maguzawa there are no rites connected with the belief in Allah, and all supernatural response to worship, whether good or bad, is attributed to spirits called *'iskókí* (singular, *'iskā*). The *'iskókí* only perform their work with the permission of Allah, but the Maguzawa in their traffic with the supernatural consider it sufficient to deal with the *'iskókí*, and ignore Allah as being remote and uninterested in the affairs of men. Although the pagan Hausa have no formal cult of Allah, it should be noted that Allah is particularly implored for rain and that formerly, in times of drought, the women donned men's clothes and, carrying implements characteristic of men's occupations, went into the bush crying, "Allah, give us rain."

It must be understood that the concept of Allah as the Supreme Being is only elicited by direct questioning. Ordinarily the Maguzawa pay no attention to Allah, and His name is only heard in the oaths and common expressions involving God's name which these folk share with their Moslem neighbors, but which, unlike them, they use less frequently.

The 'Ískókí, Their Nature and Powers

The spirits which play such an important role in Maguzawa religious life are generally held to be infinite in number, though certain of them are known by name and have definite personalities and powers ascribed to them. It is around these that the religious life of the Maguzawa revolves.¹ To designate these spirits, we shall use the term *'iskókí* throughout this discussion, because of all the native Hausa terms for "spirit" it is the most

¹ According to one informant there are 3,013 spirits "and one more." With this we may compare the Yoruba tradition that there are 201 or 401 *orishas*, "spirits"; cf. Farrow, 1926, p. 23.

general in its application, and thus can be regarded as referring to all the aspects of their cult. It is, at the same time, the word most often used by the Hausa themselves.²

Bòrì (plural, *bórùrukà*), which is the term most frequently encountered in the ethnographic literature bearing on the Hausa, refers primarily to the possession by the *'iskókí* of their worshippers, though it can also be used in the same sense as *'iskà*.³ There are also words which in their primary meaning designate a single group of the *'iskókí*, but have been extended in their usage to include all of them. Among these are *dòdò* (feminine, *dòdànniyà*, plural, *dòdànnì*), really the name of a particular water spirit, and *màlèkà*, a term applied most appropriately to the forest spirits. Sometimes the *'iskókí* are called *y'án gábàs*, "children of the east," or *y'án jángaré*, "children of Jangare." This latter is an allusion to Jangare, a city in the east invisible to men which they are supposed to inhabit.

The terms thus far considered are all of native Hausa origin. In addition, however, a number of words derived from Arabic are used as synonyms of *'iskà* and reflect the identification of the Hausa *'iskókí* with the Moham-medan jinn, an important point, the significance of which will become apparent as this discussion proceeds. These are *'alján* (feminine, *'aljáná*, plural, *'aljànú*), *šáy'dân* and *'iblis* (feminine, *'iblišiyà*, plural, *'iblišáy*).⁴

In the following pages, for purposes of preliminary orientation, some general characteristics of the *'iskókí* and something of their organization as it is conceived by the Maguzawa will be enumerated. A table listing the spirits known to the Maguzawa and a more detailed discussion of several of the more important ones will then be given, after which their cult will be described. Finally, an analysis of the various factors operative in the development of this cult will be attempted.

The *'iskókí* are to be found everywhere, in the sky, the forest, the hills, in bodies of water and in the cities of men. Those whose names are known, and who have a definite cult, generally have a favorite kind of tree or some other specific locale where they like to stay. Here sacrifices consisting of sheep, goats, or fowl are offered to them, each spirit having its appropriate

² *'Iskókí* is the plural of the word *'iskà*, the primary meaning of which is "wind." Herskovits, 1938 b, vol. 2, p. 130, notes the use of the word *Djo*, "air," as a general word for spirit in Dahomey.

³ This restricted application of the word *bòrì* has also been noted by Krusius, 1915, p. 292.

⁴ *'Aljan* is derived from the Arabic *jinn*, "jinn", with the definite article *'al* prefixed. The word *Alledjenu* used by Frobenius to designate the spirits worshipped by the Hausa is evidently the plural *'aljànú*, cf. Frobenius, 1913, p. 561. *Šáy'dân* is the Arabic *šaitān*, "Satan." *'Iblis* is from the Arabic *'iblis*, "Iblis, the Devil," which is probably a derivative of the Greek *diabolos*.

animal. The purpose of the sacrificial act is to furnish a spirit with the blood which is its chief sustenance. Often a model of the object connected with the spirit's activities is placed at the sacred tree—a bow and arrow for a hunting spirit, a thunder stone (neolithic celt) for the thunder deity, or an anvil for the spirit of iron-working—and over this object the blood of the sacrifice is allowed to flow. In these cases, the fundamental West African pattern of worship involving objects sacred to the spirit, often spoken of as fetishism, is involved. It is not the object itself, however, as the naive observer might conclude, which is receiving the sacrifice, but the spirit associated with it.

Sometimes the spirits reveal themselves to their worshippers through the medium of human beings whom they have chosen. The people thus singled out by the spirits are summoned by the appropriate drum rhythms to possess them. The costume characteristic of the spirit who has been called is donned by the devotee, and the spectators can then converse directly with the *'iskà* who speaks through the mouth of the one possessed.

Most of the time, however, the *'iskókí* are believed to live in their city of Jangare. This city is generally said to be in the east. However, one informant placed it in the vicinity of Argungu in western Hausa country, while it is commonly identified with a town in the south of Kano province called Baw'da. Near the town gate of Baw'da there is a famous baobab tree and a well at the bottom of which the *'iskókí* are said to dwell. In the city of Jangare, the *'iskókí* are believed to have a king called Sarkin 'Aljan "king of the jinn." He has a Waziri, "vizier," and other officers of state. There is a Sarkin K'ofa, "king of the gate," to inspect those who go in and out, and a group of warrior jinn whose business it is to defend the city.

The spirits are usually classified as white or good, and black or evil. In the main, the black spirits are held to be pagan and live in the bush, while the white spirits are thought of as Moslem and live in the city. At times, however, other criteria are brought into play as when Massak'i, "the weaver," is declared to be a white spirit because he weaves white cloth; or Ba'awzini, "the Touareg," is called white because the Touareg are a light-skinned people. It is also said that a spirit may be white for the man who worships him, while he is black for everyone else. Classification, however, is not a major consideration, and there consequently is some doubt regarding the category to which many of the spirits should be assigned.⁵ It is maintained that only the black spirits cause illness while the white are

⁵ The division of spirits into white and Moslem on the one hand, and black and pagan on the other, is of Mohammedan origin. The present confusion in the classification of the spirits is thus largely due to the fact that these categories have been superimposed on a native division of the spirits into those of town and bush.

harmless, but closer investigation soon discloses that any spirits can be malevolent as well as good. In general, however, the most malignant diseases are held to be caused by black spirits.

It is apparent that the Hausa concept of the *'iskôkî* has numerous correspondences among other West African peoples, together with further resemblances to be seen when the details of the cult practices are given. Indeed, in the case of the *bôrî* performances, the correspondences have so wide a distribution that they are found as far removed as Egypt and East Africa. Outstanding instances of this will be pointed out in the course of the discussion in the pages immediately following, but a general evaluation of the significance of these resemblances, as well as the role of borrowed elements, particularly Moslem, in influencing the development of Maguzawa religion will be reserved for comparative treatment in the final section of this chapter.⁶

⁶ We may for convenience list here those spirits worshipped in other West African cultures which are considered in this discussion as equivalents of the Hausa *'iskôkî*, together with the main sources from which information concerning them has been drawn. A similar list, in which the Hausa *'iskoki* do not figure, is to be found in Westermann, 1928, p. 191.

Angas, *jiguel*: Temple, 1919; Ashanti, *abosom*: Rattray, 1923, 1927; Bambara, *nyena*: Tauxier, 1927; Dahomey, *vodu*: Herskovits, 1938 b; Jukun, *jo*: Meek, 1931; Mossi, *kinkirsi*: Tauxier, 1917; Yoruba, *orisha*: Farrow, 1924 and Bascom, 1939; Longuda, *kwandal*: Meek, 1931 b, vol. 2, p. 351.

*The Spirits and Their Characteristics*¹

TABLE I

<i>Name</i>	<i>Relationships</i>	<i>Distinguishing Characteristics</i>	<i>Illness Caused By</i>	<i>Sacrifice</i>
1. Sarkin 'Aljan "king of the Jinn" a. Jangare ² b. Janzari	Husband of May'iyali	A black spirit; king of all the spirits	Headache	Bull; cow or bull's head (J); human sacrifice (K)
2. May'iyali "possessor of a family"	Wife of Sarkin 'Aljan ³	Has a large cloth to carry children	None	None

(J) indicates a trait found today at Jugawa among the rural Kutumbawa.

(K) indicates a trait found among the Kutumbawa of Kano City before the Fulani conquest (1807).

¹ This table includes only spirits found among the Kutumbawa.

² This identification is only made in Kano. At Jigawa, Jangare is identified with Nakada.

³ She is also said to be the wife of Sarkin Huši.

TABLE I—*Continued*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Relation-ships</i>	<i>Distinguishing Characteristics</i>	<i>Illness Caused By</i>	<i>Sacrifice</i>
3. Waziri "vizier"	Vizier of Sarkin 'Aljan	Distributes the presents of Sarkin 'Aljan among the people	None	None
4. Babban Maza "great among men" a. Na 'Ayše "related to A'isha"	Husband of Inna	Uses a pestle of the type employed pounding guinea corn to crush souls	Loss of soul	Red and white goat (gic'awà) at the <i>jígò</i> ⁴
5. Manzo "messenger"	Son of Babban Maza	A hairy dog who devours souls	Loss of soul	? ⁵
6. Bagiro ⁶	Son of Babban Maza; older brother of Manzo	Devours souls	Loss of soul	? ⁵
7. 'Inna "mother" a. Bahullatana "The Fulani girl" b. 'UwaRgona "mother of the farm" c. 'UwaRgari "mother of the city"	Wife of Babban Maza	The mother of all spirits; makes the guinea corn grow; punishes thieves	Swelling of the stomach (<i>kùmbúrín</i> <i>číkì</i>)	White chicken; white female sheep
8. Gajimari a. Na Ruwa "pertaining to water" b. Masaruwa "drinker of water" c. Na Dawdu	Oldest son of Babban Maza and 'Inna; husband of Ra	Takes the form of a <i>búdà</i> snake, dwelling in wells and ant heaps; drinks the rain water and appears in the sky as a rainbow; to be	Stomach trouble (<i>číwàn</i> <i>číkì</i>)	Sheep with a black navel on an ant heap or at the base of a tamarind tree

⁴ The *jígò* is a tree of the *dà-ši* species sacred to Kure, found in Kutumbawa compounds at the base of which many sacrifices are performed.

⁵ The sacrifices to Manzo and Bagiro are secrets known only to witches.

⁶ Bagiro is of minor importance among the Kutumbawa, but in regions other than Kano he appears to occupy the place assigned to Jangare (Sarkin 'Aljan) in Kano. Tremearne, 1914, pp. 262-264, describes him as king of the black Jinn and one to whom human sacrifices are made. In the form of Magiro or Maigiro he is an important deity among several tribes of Northern Nigeria—the Bassa: Temple, 1919, p. 46; the Baushi, *ibid.*, p. 55; the Dukawa, *ibid.*, p. 99; the Kamberri, *ibid.*, p. 200; and the Kamuku, *ibid.*, p. 208.

TABLE I—*Continued*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Relation- ships</i>	<i>Distinguishing Characteristics</i>	<i>Illness Caused By</i>	<i>Sacrifice</i>
"related to Dawdu" d. Duwaco ⁷		thus regarded as Maguzawa form of West African rain- bow-serpent		
9. Ra ⁸ a. Makaddubu "killer of thou- sands"	Wife of Gajimari	Sends thunder and lightning	None	White chicken with black mouth and feet (<i>fétúwá</i>) on an ant heap or at the base of a tamarind or ' <i>ádúwà</i> ' tree.
10. Duna	Son of Gajimari and Ra	Dog-like in appear- ance; a person pos- sessed by him barks like a dog. He devours souls.	Fever (<i>zàzzà</i> 'bf*) and loss of soul	Black cock or black goat at the base of a <i>kányá</i> tree.
11. 'Dan Musa "son of Moses" a. Danko b. Maymaši "possessor of a spear" c. Samani d. Majačiki "drawer of the belly"	Son of Bab- ban Maza and 'Inna; husband of Ricana	Carries a spear and causes stomach trouble by touch- ing his victim's stomach with it. One possessed by Dan Musa wriggles on his belly in imi- tation of a snake's movements.	Constipa- tion	Speckled cock
12. Ric'ana	Wife of 'Dan Musa ⁹	No marked dis- tinguishing char- acteristics.	Inflamma- tion of the eye	Black chicken with gray (<i>màywá</i>) neck
13. K'ak'ari a. 'Dan Bak'o "son of Bak'o" b. Saho "kite" c. Sarkin Gogawa "king of swiftness"	Son of 'Dan Musa and Ricana	Takes the form of a <i>wùjiwùji</i> snake. Unlike other spir- its, who enter through the head, he enters the per- son whom he pos- sesses by the chest.	Pneumonia	Red and white goat

⁷ According to Krusius, Duwaco is a distinct spirit, the son of Gajimari.

⁸ Ra resembles Tanatsa, Krusius, 1915, p. 296, and Aradu, Tremearne, 1914, p. 379, in her attributes and activities; both of these others, however, are males.

⁹ Ric'ana is also said to be the wife of Bamusayi.

TABLE I—*Continued*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Relation- ships</i>	<i>Distinguishing Characteristics</i>	<i>Illness Caused By</i>	<i>Sacrifice</i>
14. Kure "male hyena"	Son of Bab- ban Maza and 'Inna	Regarded as a hy- ena who traps souls. A person pos- sessed by him imi- tates the hyena.	Headache; loss of soul	Red cock or red male goat at the <i>jí'gò</i> .
15. 'UwaRdawa "mother of the bush" a. Bahullatana "Fulani maid" b. Gurguwa "lame one" c. Doguwa "long one" i.e., "possessing a long vagina"	Wife of Kure; younger sister of 'Inna	Mother of all the forest spirits; lame.	Paralysis	A red childless she-goat at the <i>jí'gò</i> .
16. 'amusayi ¹⁰	Son of UwaRdawa	A lame spirit who lives in the forest.	Impotence in men; frigidity in women.	A black goat without testicles
17. Gajere "shortman" a. Kyambo b. Sarkin Baka "king of the bow" c. Maybaka "possessor of a bow" d. 'Dan Jigo "son of the <i>jí'gò</i> " e. Y'an Dawa "children of the forest"	Son of Kure and UwaRdawa	A hunter who ranges the forest. When he shoots a man a swelling ap- pears at the spot where the wound was made, usually at the neck.	Swelling (<i>kùmbúrí</i>)	Dwarf (<i>mùgúdú</i>) cock of any color at the <i>jí'gò</i> .
18. 'Awwa a. Y'aR Jigo "daughter of the <i>jí'gò</i> "	Wife of Gajere ¹¹	A fierce spirit; a person possessed by her throws ev- erything he can get hold of over his shoulder.	Swelling	A red chicken with its tail feather set at an angle

¹⁰ Bamusayi is only worshipped by the Yadamawa clan of the Maguzawa. The rites are secret and any outsider who is present will be attacked by Bamusayi. His sacrificial animal is always kept by members of this clan in their compound, as a protection against theft since he punishes thieves in the same manner.

¹¹ 'Awwa is also said to be the wife of Gurgu.

TABLE I—*Continued*

Name	Relationships	Distinguishing Characteristics	Illness Caused By	Sacrifice
19. Gurgu "lame man" a. Na Bak'o "relative of Bak'o"	Son of Kure and 'UwaR- dawa; younger brother of Gajere	A lame hunter who lives in the forest; inhabits the kányá and tamarind trees.	Lameness	Dwarf cock at a kányá or tam- arind tree
20. Wade "dwarf"	Son of Kure and of 'UwaR- dawa; younger brother of Gurgu	A hunter living in the forest who in- habits the	Swelling (<i>kùmbúrt'</i>)	Dwarf cock at a tamarind tree
21. Jammarke "red márké wood"	"Friend" of Kure; "friend" of Nakada ¹²	During bori per- formances he boxes with Kure; boxers sacrifice to him.	Diarrhea	Dark red cock
22. GaRba a. Sarkin K'arfi "king of strength"	?	A wrestler who car- ried a club (<i>kó-kârá</i>)	Soreness of the back and neck	Brown goat (<i>sàndán</i> <i>bàgà-rúwá</i>)
23. Makasa	Wife of Jammarke	A perpetual dwel- ler in the bush; this spirit never pos- sesses anyone.	Diarrhea	Black chicken with white neck (<i>màywá</i>)
24. Mak'era ¹³ "anvil" a. K'ira "iron work"	Mother of Batoyi	The patron spirit of iron workers. Sacrifices are made to her before a new anvil is set up or before going on an expedition to mine iron-ore.	None	Black chicken or black he-goat at the anvil
25. Batoyi	Son of Mak'era; husband of Randa	Animates the fire	None	Ash-colored cock (<i>tòká</i>)

¹² The term used in Hausa to express the joking relationship existing, for instance, between cross cousins, is *'àbòkán wà'sá* ("play friends") or simply *'àbòkáy* ("friends").

¹³ Mak'eri "iron worker" or Sarkin Mak'era "king of the iron workers", a spirit described by Tremearne, 1914, p. 352, has attributes similar to those of Mak'era, but is a male.

TABLE I—*Continued*

Name	Relation- ships	Distinguishing Characteristics	Illness Caused By	Sacrifice
26. Randa	Wife of Batoyi	Starts the fires which Batoyi blows into conflagrations.	None	Chicken with feathers set at an angle (<i>širwá</i> .)
27. Zaki ¹⁴ "lion"	None	One possessed by him imitates a lion.	None	None
28. Biri "monkey"	None	One possessed by him imitates a monkey.	None	None
29. Giwa "elephant"	None	One possessed by him imitates an elephant.	None	None
30. Damisa "leopard"	Husband of Kyanwa	One possessed by him imitates a leopard.	None	None
31. Kyanwa "cat"	Wife of Damisa	One possessed by her imitates a cat.	None	None
32. Kura "female hyena"	None	The emissary of Kure, who helps him to catch souls; also eats souls. ¹⁵	None	None
33. Dila "jackal"	None	The emissary of Duna who aids him in catching souls; also eats them.	None	None
34. Barewa "antelope"	None	One possessed by him imitates an antelope.	None	None
35. Bodari "skunk"	None	One possessed by him imitates a skunk.	None	None
36. Kwáklyá " <i>kwá-klyá</i> , a species of snake"	None	One possessed by him imitates a <i>kwá-klyá</i> .	None	None
37. Cádarákì " <i>c-á-dàrá-kì</i> , a species of snake"	None	One possessed by him imitates a <i>c-á-dàrá-kì</i> .	None	None

¹⁴ This spirit and those following (27-43) cause no sickness and are not the objects of sacrifice. It is believed, however, that if they are not given the chance to possess somebody, the species of animal they represent cannot be successfully hunted.

¹⁵ "Eating" souls is the essential activity of witches. See p. 48, below.

TABLE I—*Continued*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Relation- ships</i>	<i>Distinguishing Characteristics</i>	<i>Illness Caused By</i>	<i>Sacrifice</i>
38. Taruruwa ¹⁶ "ant heap"	None		None	None
39. Kado "crocodile"	None	One possessed by him behaves like a crocodile.	None	None
40. Dorina "hippopotamus"	None	One possessed by her imitates a hippopotamus.	None	None
41. 'Ungulu ¹⁷ "vulture"	None	Held to be a Maguzawa, because he eats carrion forbidden to Moham-medans.	None	None
42. Maykiya "eagle"	None	One possessed by him imitates an eagle.	None	None
43. Hankaka ¹⁷ "crow"	None		None	None
44. Sarkin Rafi "king of the river" a. Zugu "shuttle" b. Massak'i "weaver"	Son of Bab-ban Maza and 'Inna	One possessed by him acts like a weaver.	"Cold" through dampness	Black cock with white patches
45. Sarkin Ruwa ¹⁸ ? "king of the water"	?	King of the spirits who live in the water.	Ear sickness	White sheep with red around eyes at a spring or on the bank of a river
46. Tunga	?	A spirit who inhabits the water.	None	None
47. Y'aR Dorina "daughter of the hippopotamus"	?	A man who can be possessed by her should exercise care during the rainy season when he tries to cross a river.	None	None

¹⁶ These spirits are never believed to possess anyone.¹⁷ These spirits are never believed to possess anyone.¹⁸ Sarkin Ruwa and the spirits that follow (45-48) are included among the Y'an Ruwa, "children of the water," dog-like creatures who dwell in cities in the beds of streams and in springs. If they catch a man while he is crossing a stream they suck his blood. Millet, rice and pumpkins are thrown into the water as an offering to them.

TABLE I—Continued

Name	Relation- ships	Distinguishing Characteristics	Illness Caused By	Sacrifice
48. Badako	Younger brother of Sarkin Rafi	Lives on <i>kányá</i> · trees in the bush.	None	Dark red cock at a <i>kányá</i> · tree
49. Badakuwa	Wife of Badako	Lives on <i>kányá</i> · trees in the bush.	None	Dark red chicken at a <i>kányá</i> · tree
50. Dodo	?	A water spirit who eats the human be- ings he traps.	None	? ¹⁹
51. Goje a. Kutulu "leper" b. 'Uban Dawaki "father of horses" c. 'Awta "youngest child"	Brother of Sarkin Maka'da	Has no hands or feet and goes on horse-back. One possessed by him imitates a leper.	Leprosy, cough, ulcers	Hairless chicken; red and white goat
52. Sarkin Maka'da "king of the drummers" a. Dafaw b. Maywa	Brother of Goje; father of 'Dan Ya- rima Na Ro'ko	The drummer for all the spirits, and the patron ' <i>iská</i> · of drummers.	None	Gray cock (<i>máywá</i> ·); goat red on the upper part of the body and white from the waist down
53. 'Dan Yarima Na Ro'ko	Son of Sarkin Mak'da	One possessed by him is given a small drum to play and begs the onlookers for presents.	None	None
54. Maykalangu Dz Kurya	Son of Sarkin Mak'da	Plays the <i>kálàngú</i> · and <i>kúryá</i> · drums.	None	None
55. Malam 'Alhaji "Malam the pil- grim"	Father of 'Dan Galadima	A pilgrim dressed in white. One pos- sessed by him per- forms ablutions and counts the beads on a rosary.	Cough	White cock; white sheep
56. Sarawniya "queen"	Wife of Malam 'Alhaji; mother of 'Dan Galadima	As a jealous spirit, enamoured of young men, she causes them to be- come impotent when they marry.	Impotence in men; cessation of men- struation in women	Brown chicken (<i>k'ánk'árá</i> ·); white sheep with black vulva

¹⁹ In Kano, with its semi-desert environment and lack of large bodies of water, so little attention is paid to water spirits that it was difficult to obtain much information about them.

TABLE I—*Continued*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Relation- ships</i>	<i>Distinguishing Characteristics</i>	<i>Illness Caused By</i>	<i>Sacrifice</i>
57. Bagwariya "the Gwari Woman" a. 'Azziki "prosperity"	Concubine of Malam 'Alhaji	A slave woman of the Gwari tribe; one possessed by her speaks the Gwari language	None	Black chicken without spots
58. 'Dan Galadima a. Yarima b. Gimba c. Biyabiki "visit the mar- riage feast" d. Muhamma "Mohammed"	Son of Malam 'Alhaji and Sarawniya	A young man who loses his money gambling.	Wander- lust	Red cock with white and black "saddle"; white sheep with black circle around one eye (<i>mâykwállí</i>)
59. 'Abba	Slave of 'Dan Galadima	One possessed by him clasps his hands and opens them again beg- ging gifts.	None	None ²⁰
60. Bagobiri "the man from Gobir"	Slave of 'Dan Galadima	One possessed by him carries a sword and shield and imitates fighting.	None	None
61. Ba'awzini "the Touareg man"	Slave of 'Dan Galadima	One possessed by him wears the head veil of a Touareg.	None	None
62. Cigoro "eater of kol'a nuts"	Wife of 'Dan Galadima	One possessed by her gives kola nuts.	Eyesick- ness (<i>có'nìn</i> ' <i>idò</i>)	None
63. Karama "small one"	Wife of 'Dan Galadima; younger sister of Nakada	The youngest wife of 'Dan Galadima; extremely jealous of her co-wives.	Eyesick- ness (<i>có'nìn</i> ' <i>idò</i>)	White chicken with black mouth
64. Dangira "hemp" a. Basusa "giver of the itch"	Wife, or older sister of 'Dan Galadima	One possessed by her scratches her arms.	Itch (<i>sú'sà</i>)	Chicken with red breast

²⁰ 'Abba shares in the sacrifices offered to his master, 'Dan Galadima.

TABLE I—*Concluded*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Relation- ships</i>	<i>Distinguishing Characteristics</i>	<i>Illness Caused By</i>	<i>Sacrifice</i>
65. Gyangya'di "nodder" a. Sarkin BaRçi "queen of sleep"	Wife of 'Dan Galadima	One possessed by her falls asleep while spinning.	Sleeping sickness (<i>hàwkán</i> <i>báRčír</i>)	Red chicken with white head and tail
66. Dariya "laughter"	Wife of Sarkin Maka'da, or of 'Dan Galadima	One possessed by her laughs hysteri- cally.	Hysteria "laughing madness" (<i>hàwkán</i> <i>dà'riyá</i>)	Chicken with red breast
67. Nakada "the striker" a. Jataw	Son of Malam 'Alhaji	One possessed by him simulates in- tercourse using a branch of a tree as a phallus; eats feces.	A madness in which the victim eats feces (<i>hàwkán</i> <i>čín ká'šít</i>)	A red goat with one testicle
68. Mayramu "Miriam"	Younger sister of Nakada	One possessed by her touches her arms at various points.	Causes a sickness in which the per- son's arms look as though they had been burnt in spots (<i>tábò</i>)	Black chicken with red neck

Some Important 'Iskoki

'Inna as conceived by the Maguzawa appears to be the result of the identification of two spirits originally distinct. One of them, as the name indicates, is of Fulani origin.⁷ In this aspect she is also called Buhullatana, "the Fulani girl." The other spirit originally distinct, is called 'UwaRgona, "mother of the farm," or 'UwaRgari, "mother of the city." The latter is evidently a native Hausa conception and figures in a dichotomy between bush and town which is common in Hausa thinking.⁸ Opposed to 'UwaRgari is another spirit, 'UwaRdawa, "mother of the bush," variously described as her younger sister or her daughter-in-law.

⁷ 'Inna means "mother" in Fulani.

⁸ For instance, in Hausa, the adjective *ná gârî*, "pertains to the city, good" and *ná dāwā*, "pertains to the bush, bad." The same terminology is employed to distinguish domestic from wild animals. The comparable classification of spirits into bush and town dwellers has already been noted.

'Inna is the mother of all the spirits. As a Fulani maid (the Fulani are predominantly a pastoral people), she owns cattle and subsists on milk, in addition to the blood of the sacrifice. Some Maguzawa keep a model hut for 'Inna inside of their compound. In this hut live not only 'Inna but a number of spirits closely related to her. When she returns at sundown from tending her cattle, she rests herself on the small stone seat which is always erected near her hut. She then enters her hut where a calabash of milk awaits her; whenever the calabash is seen to be empty, it is known that 'Inna has finished the milk and more must be put in it. A worshipper of 'Inna first causes a few drops of milk to fall on the ground as an offering to her before he begins milking.

All this obviously relates to 'Inna as a Fulani maid. In her other aspect, as mother of the farm, she is the principal giver of good crops. She guards the property of her worshippers, pursuing thieves and causing their bellies to swell with fatal results. The fear of 'Inna, indeed, is said to be the chief reason why the Maguzawa do not steal. An oath sworn on the name of 'Inna is one of the strongest a Maguzawa can take since such a victim of her wrath as the breaker of her oath would be is buried in the bush and deprived of the ordinary burial rites.

To call 'Inna so that she may possess a "child of the *bòrî*"⁹ the drum "says,"

ké y'áR málám
kàwò nǎnǎ

thou daughter of a Malam,
bring milk!

During possession by 'Inna a person twirls the churning stick used in making butter while first drinking milk from a calabash and then spitting it out.

Gajimari, a male '*iskà*, is the oldest son of 'Inna. He is the Hausa representative of a common West African conception, the rainbow serpent.¹⁰ He may be observed at the bottom of wells or in ant heaps, where he takes the form of a snake. He causes the rain to stop by ascending into the heavens to drink up the rain water: hence his name *Mašaruwa*, "drinker of water." At such times he may be seen rising as a red light. When the rain is over, he stretches himself out in the sky as the rainbow of which he is the red

⁹ This is a term used to designate a member of the possession cult. See below, p. 81.

¹⁰ With *Gajimari* we may compare *Aido Hwedo*, the Dahomean rainbow serpent, Herskovits, 1938 *b*, vol. 2, p. 247; and the Yoruba *Osumare*, Farrow, 1924, p. 50. The latter appears to be the same word as *Gajimari*.

part while his consort Ra, the thunder deity, is the blue.¹¹ Gajimari is identified with the *búdǎ*, a type of snake believed to have two heads, which many Maguzawa sibs claim as their "totem." To see a *búdǎ* snake gliding past the house is a sign that one of the women inside will have a child or that one of the men will acquire a wife.

Gajimari's favorite tree is the tamarind, but he also dwells on the *kányǎ*, "ebony tree." Sacrifices are usually made to him at the base of one of these trees or on an ant heap, for he is considered to be extremely evil and it is not desired to have him in the compound. A person about to be possessed by him has his head covered with a black cloth, because Gajimari is a black spirit, while the drum calls,

'dán 'innà tànnák'í hánà tǎfíyǎ.
son of 'Inna, hobbling prevents walking

The interpretation of this is that the gait of one given stomach trouble by Gajimari is likened to that of a horse whose hind feet are hobbled. This motion is imitated by the person possessed by Gajimari.

Kure, "male hyena," is another son of 'Inna. He is the favorite 'tskǎ of the Maguzawa, and they consider him peculiarly their own. In drumming to him they say,

kúrè, bòrín 'áRnǎ
Kure, bòrǐ of the pagans

When possessed by him, devotees bare their teeth and snarl. There is said to be an illness caused by Kure in which the victim performs this same hyena-like behavior. The sickness most often attributed to Kure, however, is headache. Kure and Duna, the son of Gajimari, likewise seize and "eat" human souls.¹² The song sung by the worshipper of Kure goes:

kúràn bàkín ràfí
ká šǎ rúwǎ ká ǎi kúrǎ
tǎwnǎ gǎrázìn gǎrázìn
hà'díyà dà sáwrán kwǎná

hyena at the edge of the river,
drink water; eat a soul;
chew it (making the noise) gǎrázìn gǎrázìn;
swallow it while there is still some life left in it.

¹¹ This is the Kano version. Tremearne, 1914, p. 340, whose data were collected at Tunis among North African Hausa coming from diverse regions, states that Gajimari is an hermaphrodite, his male component being red and his female component blue.

¹² The connection of these spirits with witchcraft, which is defined among the Hausa, as in many other parts of Africa, as the "eating" of souls, is discussed on p. 48 below.

Kure's favorite haunt is the *dàšši* tree. Most Maguzawa have one of these trees in their compounds at which sacrifices to Kure and other spirits are made. Such a sacred tree is called a *jígò*, "pole," and Jigo is an alternative name of Kure.¹³ At the base of the *jígò* is an implement associated with Kure, a small wooden *kêrè*, "throwing stick," spattered with the blood of sacrifices. On the bough of the *dàšši* tree always hangs a small gourd containing *gtyà*, guinea corn beer, since Kure, like all true Maguzawa, likes to drink beer.

Kure is also associated with boxing, the national sport of the Maguzawa. At *bòrì* performances where many "children of the *bòrì* congregate, he boxes with the spirit Jamarke, his joking relation (cross-cousin) and the two exchange insults. Before going into a boxing match, a sacrifice is made to Kure.

'*Dan Galadima* is the son of Malam 'Alhaji and Sarawniya. He is also called the son of his father's concubine, Bagwariya, "the Gwari woman," in derision.¹⁴ Hence the verse,

'úwákà dà c'ágé 'ùbákà málàmí

your mother has tribal marks; your
father is a malam.

'Dan Galadima is a handsome young man, popular with women, a spend-thrift, and a gambler. The black circle around the eye of the sheep sacrificed to him represents the kohl with which a young dandy paints his eyelids. A worshipper of 'Dan Galadima always carries civet, which is the spirit's "perfume," and cowries tied in a handkerchief, to be used in gambling.

When possessed by 'Dan Galadima, the devotee covers his head with a *sák'ì* cloth.¹⁵ As the spirit arrives, a gown of *sák'ì* cloth and a white turban are brought, a fan is put in his hands and kola nuts are given him. Then the handkerchief with the cowries inside makes its appearance and he begins to throw the cowries, simulating gambling. Those possessed by 'Dan

¹³ Krusius, 1915, p. 299, found other trees beside the *dàšši* in use as *jígòs*, among them the *čé'diyà* and *ká'dányà*. In the districts where the present work was done only the *dàšši* was found as a *jígò*. It was definitely associated with Kure. Meek, 1931 b, vol. 2, p. 237 mentions the "three-forked branch of the fig-tree which constitutes an altar in every Kare-kare compound." This furnishes us with a logical transition to the three-forked branch with a basin upon it which is found in every Ashanti compound as an altar to 'Nyame, the sky God, Cratray, 1923, p. 142.

¹⁴ The Hausa word 'dā, here translated as "son," is applied by women to the children of rival wives.

¹⁵ *Sák'ì* cloth is made by weaving black and blue strands into a close checker pattern. Garments made of this cloth are often worn by rich young men.

Galadima give everything they own, but God rewards them so that in a few days all returns, and with interest.

It is usually said that 'Dan Galadima does not cause any sickness, though sometimes wanderlust is ascribed to him. He is thus a beneficent spirit. His advice is often sought, and whenever he reveals himself through a medium he is consulted on all manner of questions. Examples cited included the case of a man who wanted to know whether he should marry a certain woman, and of a woman who asked why her daughter was ill. The man was told to marry at once, while the woman was informed that the house she was living in had no 'ālbāRkà, "blessedness," and that she should move somewhere else.

'Dan Galadima is described as having three wives who are always squabbling. Because he is so reckless he never has money to repair the huts of his compounds, and a verse sung under possession alludes to this:

Mámmàn, 'dán sárkî,
rûmā kà'd 'dāk'î

Mohammed, son of a king (i.e., important man);
dampness strike down the hut.

A man who wishes to separate a girl whom he loves from a rival buys a "saddle" cock (a red cock with a black and white saddle-shaped design on its back) for 'Dan Galadima and a red-breasted chicken for Čigoro, his senior wife. The girl will immediately desert the rival and come to him, whereupon he sacrifices the animals he has bought to these spirits as a thank-offering. A woman may use the same method when troubled by a rival.

The Cult of the 'Īskókî

Family Rites. Although anyone may approach the spirits, the most important rites are family affairs at which the head of the compound, acting as a priest, offers sacrifices for all members of his compound related to him in the paternal line. Since participation in the cult is inherited on the father's side, strangers and relatives on the mother's side whose religious inheritance differs from that of the compound head perform their rites independently. The principal ritual performed for the group by its head comprises a series of sacrifices to spirits whose cult he has inherited from his predecessor. Among these spirits three groups may be distinguished.

First come the spirits who are common to all the Maguzawa—Kure and his wife 'UwaRdawa, and 'Dan Galadima and his wife Čigoro. The only exception to the worship of these spirits by Maguzawa groups is found in the case of certain iron-workers, who sacrifice to Mak'era, "anvil"; and, they say, this is only because the 'Īskókî have an antipathy to

iron. The second category consists of spirits whose worship is common to a whole sib and are regarded by the sib members as "totems," *kân gîdâ*. Examples that may be cited are the sacrifices to Gajimari and wife Ra, performed in every household of the Jigawa clan, those to Bamusayi made by all the Yadamawa, and the worship of Y'aR Dorina by the Turbawa. Finally, there are spirits who have been acquired personally by the head of the patrilineal group. This acquisition often occurs in connection with the assumption of a new occupation. A man who becomes a drummer learns at the same time the sacrifices to Sarkin Maka'da; a hunter must know how to serve Gajere; and the iron-worker the requirements of Mak'era. On occasion a spirit is acquired at a *bôrî* performance where the deity, speaking through his medium, expresses a desire to live in a man's compound. This happens frequently to men whose wives practice bori, since the spirits often manifest their desire to be adopted by the husbands of their female devotees. All of these spirits, it must be stated, whether inherited or acquired, are handed down to a man's descendants.

The chief occasions on which the family sacrifices are carried out are at the commencement of the agricultural season—the so-called *bázará*, the

TABLE II. *bázará* Sacrifices made by a Member of the Jigawa Sib

<i>Name of Spirit</i>	<i>Day and Time</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Animal Sacrificed</i>
Kure	Thursday night ¹	Entrance to compound	Red he-goat
'UwaRdawa	Thursday night	Entrance to compound	Red chicken with tail and feathers set at an angle
Gajimari	Thursday night	Entrance to compound	Black sheep with white navel
Ra	Thursday night	Entrance to compound	Black chicken with white feet
Goje	Thursday night	Anywhere in compound	Red and white goat
'Dan Galadima	Friday morning	Prepared open place in compound ²	Sheep with black circle around one eye
Cigoro	Friday	Prepared open place in compound	Red-breasted chicken

¹ Since for the Maguzawa the day begins in Mohammedan fashion at sundown, Thursday night is the first part of Friday. The principle involved is that the black spirits receive their sacrifices at night, and the white spirits during the day. The day usually selected is Friday, as in this case, or Sunday. Friday and Sunday are the important days of the Mohammedan week.

² This cleared place represents the prayer rectangle, marked out by a Moslem before praying. All the sacrifices to "Mohammedan" spirits are made at this place.

hot season before the first rains, and at harvest time. This would seem to point their principal orientation toward the attainment of agricultural prosperity. The natives, however, couch such explanations as they offer in very general terms, giving such reasons as "that everything should be well," or "that we may prosper." The primary sacrifice to each spirit is a sheep or goat, but a chicken may be substituted if a man finds the larger offering too burdensome.

In making the sacrifice, the throat of the animal is slit with an iron knife so that the jugular vein is severed. When the blood spurts forth the operator addresses the spirit to whom the offering is being made with the words, "So-and-so, here is blood. Drink it!" The blood flows into one of two previously prepared holes, each about one foot in diameter. The one which receives the blood is immediately covered with a stone "so that the dogs won't get at it," a happening which would anger the spirits. The other hole receives the entrails. If the sacrifice is a chicken, a feather is inserted in the ground "as a witness" for "all blood looks the same." The carcass is roasted or boiled, according to the spirit that is the recipient of the offering.¹⁶ It is then eaten by members of the household; some of it, however, is reserved for distribution as a *sádákâ*.¹⁷

Mention should be made at this point of a rite carried out by the head of the patrilineal group in conjunction with the sacrifices just described. The rite consists of the preparations of *gumbá*, millet flour and water, hung up overnight in a calabash. In the morning it is taken down, milk added to some of it, and this portion is drunk by the members of the household and distributed to the neighbors as *sádákâ*. The remaining part, without milk, is scattered on the floor of all the huts, in the corn storehouses and on the *jígò* of *dàší* wood sacred to Kure and the model hut sacred to 'Inna, if there is one in the compound. No explanation could be given of this rite, one of the rare religious practices of the Maguzawa apparently unconnected with the cult of the 'iskókí. It is possible that it was originally an offering to an autochthonous earth deity, for among the Mossi a portion of similar preparation called *zomkom*, described as "bouillie très liquide de farine de mil," is spilled upon the ground for the earth deity Tenga, and the rest is consumed.¹⁸

The only other occasion on which the head of the patrilineal group functions as religious head is at a marriage. The friends of the groom send the animals required for the necessary sacrifices, and the rite is performed by the family of the bride during the week of the marriage, when, on the

¹⁶ No particular principle could be discovered to explain this distinction.

¹⁷ *Sádákâ* from the Arabic *sadaqa*, "alms," in Hausa usage refers to any free distribution of goods with pious intention.

¹⁸ Tauxier, 1917, p. 388.

appropriate days, these animals are offered to the spirits by the head of the bride's patrilineal group. The other crises of life—birth, circumcision and death—are not ordinarily marked by offerings to the spirits. At the birth of a leper's child, an animal is killed for the spirit who causes leprosy, Goje, so that the child may not contract the disease. This sacrifice, however, is given by the child's father, who is not necessarily the head of the patrilineal group.

The Public Cult. The public cult carried on in Kano represents an elaboration of the domestic cult, as will be apparent from the fundamental similarity revealed in descriptions of them. No public rites for the community as a whole are performed by the Maguzawa who form the subject of the present study, though evidence of some observers seems to indicate that the region about Gwarzo where this study was made is exceptional in its lack of any ceremonies of this kind. Krusius states that the Sarkin 'ARna, "king of the pagans," carried out a "communal sacrifice" (Gemeindeopfer) but gives no details.¹⁹ In an administrative report relating to the Maguzawa of Kazaure, a small Emirate to the north of Kano, F. P. Brandt describes the Sarkin Noma, "king of farming," as performing sacrifices for the entire village.²⁰

The Kutumbawa kings of Kano seem to have performed public ceremonies whose purpose was the welfare of the entire country, ceremonies which were suppressed by the Fulani when they took power. Because almost a century and a half has elapsed since these rites were last performed, however, and perhaps also because of their sensational nature, involving human sacrifice, as they did, it was not possible to get a description of them in any precise terms. The essential part of these rites were sacrifices to a number of 'iskôkî at three sacred places in Kano city. The first of these was at K'ofar Ruwa, "gate of water," near the ancient palace in which all the Kutumbawa kings previous to Mohammed Rumfa (1463-1499) resided. The second place was the well of Mayburgami, sacred to Gajimari and 'Dan Musa. Lastly, there was a grove known as Kurmin Bak'in Ruwa, "the grove of black water," containing a sacred tree called C'abibi. This grove was near Jakara, a stream which runs through Kano city. These sacrifices were made on the average of every two or three years; they did not occur at any fixed time, but whenever the king, on the advice of his counselors, deemed it necessary. The occasion was usually some untoward event, as for instance a prolonged drought or lack of success in warfare.

¹⁹ Krusius, 1915, p. 297. The exact locale of Krusius' work is nowhere stated, but internal evidence indicates that it was somewhere in northern Zaria province, and therefore considerably to the south of the locality in which the present work was carried on.

²⁰ This information was obtained from an unpublished document made available by the kindness of the District Officer at Kano.

When a ceremony of this kind had been decided upon, all the chief men were summoned from their villages. In their presence the king sacrificed the animals appropriate to the chief 'iskôkî, Kure, 'Dan Galadima, Gajimari and 'Dan Musa. These animals were offered in the same manner as that described above in connection with the domestic cult, the high point of the ceremony coming when the black beasts for Jangare (Sarkin 'Aljan, "king of the jinn"), including a black bull, were killed. According to one informant, it was deemed necessary to give Jangare a human sacrifice once in every ten or fifteen years. The victim so selected was "black"—that is, very heavily pigmented—and had to be a youth of free status. He was kidnapped from the market-place by the king's men. This, the most valuable sacrifice of all, could only be offered by the king, while among the spirits only the "king of the jinn" was privileged to receive it.²¹

Individual Aspects. It has already been stated that anyone may approach the spirits separately for personal ends, and instances of this have been encountered in the description given of individual 'iskâ. The sacrifices made by boxers to Kure and Jamarke before a contest, and the offerings to forest spirits made by hunters before setting out on their quest may be cited as typical examples. Another large class of individual offerings, which will be discussed later, comprises sacrifices made by a bôkâ, "a pagan medicine man" to conciliate a spirit who is the cause of a patient's illness. All these, it may be noted, are examples of legitimate activity, carried on openly with the full knowledge of the community for socially approved ends.

In contrast, a more sinister aspect of individual dealings with the spirits was hinted at in the case of such a sacrifice as that to 'Dan Galadima and Čigoro made by a jealous lover.²² This is but one instance of the systematic cultivation of single spirits by individuals, usually for anti-social purposes, such practices being known to the Maguzawa as "keeping a dôdô (i.e., evil spirit) in the house." It involves sacrifices to bush spirits inside the compound instead of at the appropriate places in the bush, to insure the continuous presence of the spirit in the compound. Apparently it is to avoid imputations of this kind of conduct that those not bent on evil who sacrifice to the bush spirits are careful to do so outside their compounds. If one asks a man why, for instance, he sacrifices to Gajimari at a tamarind tree, and not in his compound, the usual reply is "so people will not say that I keep a dôdô in the house." A spirit may also be brought into the service of a person by always having on hand an animal sacred to this spirit. The spirit hovers about, drinking the blood of the animal until

²¹ This same phenomenon, which has important economic implications, is to be observed in Dahomey, where human sacrifice was a royal prerogative, Herskovits, 1938 b, vol. 2, p. 55.

²² See p. 43 above.

it weakens and dies; it must then be replaced by another. This method, however, does not lend itself to secrecy, and thus usually serves more legitimate ends, such as serving notice on thieves, or on those who would work evil magic against the owner of the animal, that he is adequately protected.

When secret sacrifices have brought the spirit into a man's service, his enemy will suffer the specific disease this spirit brings. At the time sacrifices are made, the spirit is usually asked to harm the victim, who is mentioned by name. Sometimes, however, the spirit will spontaneously bring harm to those who are unfriendly to his devotee, or who have injured him. The most dreaded applications of this principle are those where Ra, the thunder deity, or the "witch spirits," who steal souls, are involved. The worshipper of Ra kills a chicken for her, the blood being allowed to run over a "thunder stone." He is said to smear his own body with the blood, but no explanation could be elicited to explain why this was done. Supplications are then offered to Ra that she strike an enemy or his compound with lightning. By offerings to Duna, K'ak'ari, or one of the other "witch spirits," one can be assured that he will seize and eat the wandering "soul," *kúrwá*, of an enemy while its owner is asleep, thus causing his death.

Cases of this kind, in which the '*iskā*' "eats" the soul, must be clearly distinguished from those in which human witches, male or female, capture and "eat" the soul of a victim. This kind of witchcraft is believed to be inherited in the female line, through the mother's milk. If a man marries such a witch, her husband's family give her a shilling on the day she bears a child saying, "We have bought your milk." The child is then given to a co-wife or hired nurse to suckle so that there will be no chance of its becoming one of these creatures. The witch harbors no malice against her victim, but simply has a craving which must be satisfied at least once every year. The soul of the witch generally hunts for victims in conjunction with one of the '*iskā*' who catches souls, and the prey is subsequently divided between them.

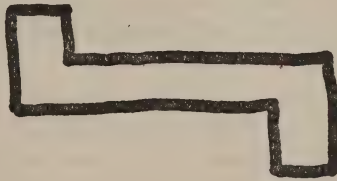
The victim of witchcraft upon awakening feels a general debility and begins to vomit blood. A doctor (*bókā*) is immediately summoned and ascertains which '*iskā*' has seized the soul, usually by a process of divination. He then prescribes the proper medicine. One of these cures, for instance, an infusion of '*ádúwā*', '*márkē*' and '*kányā*' which is ordered when Duna has stolen the victim's soul, represents a kind of sympathetic magic because Duna is believed to dwell at the '*ádúwā*' or '*kányā*' tree. An animal is then sacrificed to Duna, bystanders as well as the victim partaking of its flesh. If the one who has "eaten" a soul is a human being and the victim knows his name, he is seized and forced to walk over the victim three times. By this process, the soul of the sick person comes out from under the gown of the witch and goes back to its owner who then recovers.

Possession (Bori). In discussing the possession cult known as *bòrî*, we

must distinguish those simple individual performances among the Maguzawa, carried on for specific purposes, from the performances of the Bori societies whose aim is principally to give amusement, and which requires the use of elaborate costumes and other paraphernalia, and are carried on in the presence of a large number of performers and spectators. Both in the simple cult of the villages and in its more elaborate manifestations met with in the cities, the underlying principles of possession and initiation are the same.

A male member of the cult is known as a "son of *bòrî*" and a female member as "daughter of the bori,"²³ though women predominate to a marked degree in the membership of the cult.²⁴ The relation of the spirit to the one possessed is expressed in the metaphor of a horse and rider. The possessed one is, according to sex, the "horse" or "mare" of the spirit.²⁵ The beginning of possession is a process of the spirit "mounting" (*hâw*) his disciple, the end of it "dismounting" (*sàwkâ*). The fact that the spirit has departed is marked by the devotee's sneezing or coughing.²⁶

A person becomes a member of the *bòrî* cult in two principal ways. One method is by inheritance, where the spirits that were "on the head" of the parent come to one child.²⁷ To facilitate this transfer, a figure of the following shape sewn in red leather is worn about the neck by the child of an initiate.



²³ The use of "child" in Hausa is idiomatic, meaning no more than "connected with"; e.g., water carriers are called *y'ân rúwá*, "children of the water." The use of kinship terms to express the relationship between the god and the one he possesses is common in West Africa. Among the Yoruba, the children of a particular *orisha* are called "children of the *orisha*" though this does not necessarily imply possession (Bascom, 1939, p. 39). Among Brazilian Negroes, representing an amalgam of various West African cults, the terms *filho de santo*, "son of the spirit," and *filha da santo*, "daughter of the spirit," are in use for members of the possession cult (Ramos, 1934, p. 48). Another kinship term is in use in Dahomey where the devotee is known as *vodusi*, "wife of the spirit," (Herskovits, 1938 b, 2, 164). This resembles the terminology employed in the Egyptian *zār* cult, where the woman possessed is known as the "bride of the *zār*" (Kahle, 1912, p. 13). We are obviously dealing with a deep-seated and widely distributed pattern of terminological usage.

²⁴ Only women participate in the Jukun Yaku Cult (Meek, 1931, p. 278), and in the Egyptian *zār* (Kahle, 1912, p. 13), and in Dahomey (Herskovits, 1938 b, vol. 2, p. 177), the women predominate to a marked degree.

²⁵ This expression is very widespread. In the Egyptian *zār* cult it is said of the *zār*, "spirit," " . . . der Zar sitzt auf ihr wie ein Reiter auf seinem Reittier" (Wink-

It is said to be the throwing-stick of Nakada.²⁸ When the parent dies, Nakada shows the stick to all the spirits to indicate that the child is a true "child of the *bori*" and can practice *bòrî* without initiation. This device is not always employed; indeed, in the majority of cases in which *bòrî* was inherited, it was found that an initiation ceremony had been performed.²⁹

The other way in which a person joins the *bòrî* cult is as a result of an illness caused by the spirits. After all kinds of remedies have been tried, it is customary to consult the "children of the *bòrî*." A "child of the *bòrî*" under possession tells the sick person that his only hope of recovery is initiation into the *bòrî* cult, since one particular spirit has caused the illness to indicate his desire for the victim as his "mount." The prescribed initiation rite is then carried out as soon as possible, because, as the natives phrased it in the case of one "daughter of the *bori*," "she has the spirits on her head but she doesn't know their work."

The ceremony of initiation is known as *gírkà*, "boiling." The person to be initiated goes to some one who is already a member of the cult and can teach him how to be possessed by the spirit troubling him. This person is known according to sex as the '*ùbàn gírkà*, "father of the boiling," or '*úwàR gírkà*, "mother of the boiling." The initiate is taught to be possessed not only by the one who has caused his sickness, but by a whole repertory of spirits, who will thereafter possess him when summoned.

The *gírkà* usually lasts fourteen days during which the neophyte is secluded,³⁰ only issuing forth in the morning to collect the wood and leaves

ler, 1935, p. 16). In Egypt a man possessed by a dead saint is said to be his "camel" (*Ibid.*, p. 67). Among New World Negroes the expression is common. In Brazil the possessed person is the *cavalho de santo*, "horse of the spirit" (Ramos, 1934, p. 170), and in Haiti his *ch'wal*, or "horse" (Herskovits, 1937, p. 146).

²⁶ Doutté, 1909, p. 367, mentions a secret society of Negroes in North Africa called Ghenaua, a large number of whose members are presumably Hausa. He observed in a performance at Marrakesh that they sneeze at the end of their possession and this is a sign that the spirit has departed.

²⁷ The same phraseology is employed in Dahomey, where "the hair must be inducted into the cult group to learn the ritual before *vodu* will come into his head" (Herskovits, 1938 b, vol. 2, p. 178).

²⁸ The throwing stick is the Maguzawa royal weapon with which kings went into battle (Palmer, 1936, p. 193). It is therefore an appropriate symbol for Nakada who is often identified with the "king of the jinn."

²⁹ In Arewa country (far to the west of Kano), Harris, 1930, p. 333, reports the existence of a ceremony called Kwokwoba held seven days after the death of a "child of the *bòrî*" to ascertain which one of the children of the deceased the spirits will possess. Similar practices are also reported from the Ngizim and Karekare, tribes neighboring the Hausa, by Meek, 1931 b, v. 2, p. 260 and p. 237.

³⁰ Compare the statement of Meek, 1931, p. 279, in regard to the Yaku possession cult among the Jukun, that before becoming a member there is a period of fourteen days during which medicine is drunk and sexual abstinence is required.

required for the medicines he is given. An infusion of many different kinds of wood, stated by one informant to number as many as 363, is drunk; another procedure is to powder wood from the *k'iryà* and *ràpkáw* trees, place them on a woman's grinding stone, and give them to the initiate to eat while he keeps his hands behind his back. The object of these medicines is to insure the neophyte against harm from the violent leaps characteristic of the *bòrì* dance. They are administered during the first three days of the ritual, while the initiate is in seclusion with the "father" or "mother of the boiling." During this period he is also taught the songs sung under possession, and the drum rhythms by which the spirits are called or rhythms played on the *gàráyá*, a stringed instrument used mainly at these *bòrì* rites. On the fourth day the *gàráyá* players and all the "children of the *bòrì*" in the neighborhood come and for eleven days give performances morning and evening during which the initiate is possessed along with the other "children of the *bòrì*." Thereafter the new "child of the *bòrì*" can induce possession whenever he so desires by arranging a performance at which the spirits are summoned by the playing of the appropriate rhythms. However, on occasion, a spirit will come to him unbidden, as a caprice. Then the bystanders try to coax it away so that the expense of a sacrifice may be spared. As part of the initiation, the "child of the *bòrì*" has been taught the medicines appropriate to the diseases caused by the spirits. Now he will be consulted by people who suffer from these ailments, and under possession will himself reveal the proper medicines.

The following is a description of a *bòrì* performance witnessed at Jigawa. The circumstances leading up to the performance were these. A "daughter of the bori" called Ku'ba had a son, Mak'eri, whose wife, Tinay, had left him. The spirit 'Dan Musa, angered at this insult to his "mount," afflicted Tinay's little daughter with stomach trouble. Tinay, therefore, came to Ku'ba and was told to buy the speckled cock required by this spirit as a sacrifice. She neglected this advice, whereupon her daughter became more seriously ill with *c'óc'á*,³¹ caused by 'Inna, the mother of 'Dan Musa. In giving this account, it was emphasized that Ku'ba herself had not sought to inflict any harm on the girl, but that the *bòrì* who were "on her head" took this means of avenging the insult offered to their "mount." Thereupon, Ku'ba's daughter-in-law came to her again, and was told that a *bòrì* performance was necessary, and that she must have a white sheep for 'Inna, a black cock for Gajimari, a speckled cock for Duna and a red and white cock for K'ak'ari. These animals were all supplied by Tinay's husband Mak'eri as he was anxious for his wife to return to him and for his child to recover.

³¹ *C'óc'á* means, literally, "milking" and is therefore a disease appropriate to 'Inna, a Fulani milkmaid. It seems to be a kind of paralysis.

The performance was held at Ku'ba's compound on Thursday night, January 19, 1939. Since the sacrificial animals had to be killed on the days which were usual in Ku'ba's household, only the white sheep destined for 'Inna was killed on this night, the other being reserved for sacrifice later in the week. The nearest *gàráyá* player lived about ten miles away, so Ku'ba's husband's sister's husband, Sarkin Hu'da, a "son of the *bori*," assisted, "calling" the *bori* by clapping his hands, in the absence of a *gàráyá* or drum. Sarkin Hu'da carried on most of the conversation with Ku'ba when she was possessed, and transmitted to Tinay, the daughter-in-law, what she was ordered to do during the performance.

Ku'ba sat on a mat facing the east, the direction of Jangare where the spirits dwell. Her head was covered by a black cloth, the kind preferred by 'Inna. This covering was essential, for should she see the spirit she would die. Opposite her were Sarkin Hu'da, her daughter-in-law, Tinay, and her son, Mak'eri. Ku'ba's husband, Bage, went about unobtrusively making the necessary preparation, while on the opposite side of the fire were the spectators.

Sarkin Hu'da began by clapping his hands to the rhythm which summons the spirit 'Inna, *ka y'áR málám kàwó nònò*, "thou daughter of a Malam, bring milk." In a few moments Ku'ba could be seen shaking under the cloth with ever increasing violence. She suddenly threw off the cover and began to mumble incoherently, continuing her shaking movements. Her husband, Bage, then brought the churning stick which was upon the roof of the model hut sacred to 'Inna, and Ku'ba began to twirl it between her fingers, imitating the making of butter. A calabash was placed in her hand containing milk which she proceeded to gargle and spit out. When she was somewhat quiet, Sarkin Hu'da began to converse with her, assuring her that Tinay regretted her behavior and promising that she would now stay with her husband. As a proof of her sincerity, he pointed out that this time the sacrificial animals had been brought. The possessed woman repeated again and again the word *šékàràmbàrà*, "the year before last." This was interpreted as referring to Tinay's neglect to furnish the sacrificial animal when her young daughter first became sick, which had been the second year preceding. Ku'ba then said, *láfì láfì*, several times, repeating this peculiar abbreviation of the common word, *láfíyà*, "health" with the significance here that 'Inna is now satisfied, and everything will be all right. Ku'ba then became silent and after a short interval sneezed violently. This was the sign that 'Inna had departed.

Though the appeasement of 'Inna was the essential purpose of the performance, it was also necessary to summon 'Inna's children and grandchildren to be sure that they too were satisfied; moreover, if they were not called, they would resent not having been given this opportunity to "ride their mount." Therefore, Sarkin Hu'da, a few moments later, began to

summon 'Dan Galadima. When he came, Ku'ba sat quietly, imitating a man reading, for 'Dan Galadima is a Malam. At this point, one spectator,³² who had been piously muttering 'à'úzù billáhi mìnà-ššáy'dánì -*R Rájìmi*, "I take refuge in Allah from the accursed Satan," arose and dropped a kola nut in the lap of Ku'ba. 'Dan Galadima, as we have seen, is a spirit whose advice is asked on a great variety of questions, and this man, whose wife had been expected to arrive from Kano city that day, but had not come, took the opportunity to inquire whether she would make her appearance. Ku'ba assured him that she would, whereupon he thanked her. It was noticeable during this conversation that the interpreter used the masculine pronoun of address; for it was not Ku'ba to whom he was speaking, but the male spirit, 'Dan Galadima.

The next 'iskà who made his appearance was Zugu, "the weaver." Under his influence Ku'ba ran back and forth between a hut and a neighboring tree knocking her head violently against each, in imitation of the stretching of the threads preliminary to weaving. Sarkin Hu'da pleaded with her to restrain herself. She finally subsided, and the spirit, after giving assurances similar to those given by 'Inna, departed. Zugu was followed by 'Dan Musa. His arrival was marked by Ku'ba rolling upon her stomach in imitation of a snake. No conversation was carried on with 'Dan Musa nor with 'Dan Musa's son, K'ak'ari, who "came" after his father departed. K'ak'ari's motions were similar to those of 'Dan Musa, since he is also a snake. The departure of K'ak'ari marked the end of the ceremony.

During the latter part of the rite, Bage, having killed the white sheep sacred to 'Inna in the manner previously described was busily engaged in butchering the meat. After the last spirit had departed, the meat was cooked in a pot and all those present partook of the flesh. Although informants say that specific remedies are prescribed under possession, this did not occur in the present case. It was stated, however, that on the next day Ku'ba gave medicines for the grandchild to her daughter-in-law.

"Children of the *bòr'i*" are at times subject to involuntary uninduced possession by the spirits. This seems especially likely to occur during the excitement of a festive occasion. One example of such a seizure was witnessed at a marriage ceremony. A "daughter of the *bòr'i*" unrelated to the chief participants in the ceremony was suddenly possessed by Kure. She sank to the ground groaning and was supported by her sister. The bystanders soon succeeded in coaxing Kure to depart by repetition of the formula *sànnú dà rác'è*, "salutations at your parting." The incident was interpreted as meaning that Kure wished the couple a happy married life.

The 'Ískókí and Medicine. That the connection of the 'iskókí with dis-

³² This was my interpreter.

ease is very close has been made apparent at many points in the preceding pages. The Maguzawa, indeed, say that all disease is caused by the *'ískókí*, and one way of expressing the fact that someone has fallen ill, is to remark *yá fá'dà gídán 'ìblís*, "He has fallen into the house of the spirits." It is generally admitted, however, that venereal diseases are not caused by the spirits,³³ but otherwise so intimate is the association of the spirits with other illnesses that even this exception was spoken in terms of the prevalent pattern-*mátá 'ískàsà ċé*, "women are its *'ískā*."

But if the spirits cause disease, they are also the source of its cure.³⁴ The Maguzawa say that all remedies have been revealed to men by the spirits, and this proposition is most clearly illuminated by considering *bòrí* possession. The illness which makes a devotee originally enter the cult is caused by a spirit. It is cured by an initiation which allows the spirit to possess the sick person at will, whereupon the "child of the *bòrí*" can prescribe for all who suffer from the same disease. That the spirit gives the remedy is clear from the fact that ordinarily he himself reveals it to the sufferer, speaking through the mouth of his "mount."

Further indication that this principle is important in the theory of native medicine lies in the fact that a favorite method of the *bóká*, or pagan "medicine man," consists in sacrificing to the spirit who causes his patient's illness. In this, he is to be distinguished from the ordinary *màymágàní*, "possessor of medicine," who is also found among the Moslems whose remedies are exclusively vegetal and herbal.

The association of the spirits with medicine is still further revealed in the practice of utilizing the wood of the tree in which a given spiriy dwells as a remedy for the sickness he brings on. Medicines of this type, based on the principle of sympathetic magic, are prescribed both by the "children of *bòrí*" and by *bókás*. One example has already been cited—that of a victim of witchcraft whose soul is seized by Duna. As will be remembered, he is given an infusion of *'ádúwà*, *màrké* and *kányá* wood, the first and last of which are made from wood of the trees at which sacrifices are often made to Duna. Other medicines can be seen to follow this same principle. To cure a stomach-ache caused by Gajimari, an infusion of *kányá* and *c'ámíyá* woods is drunk. Gajimari dwells in both these trees, particularly the *c'ámíyá*, "tamarind," which is his especial favorite and a place where sacrifices are frequently made to him. Similarly, as a remedy for the con-

³³ No reason was produced for this exception, which seemed obvious to the natives. A suggestion that the Hausa *'ískókí* did not cause these diseases, but that they were introduced by the whites, elicited no response.

³⁴ This agrees closely with the idea expressed in Dahomey that the gods have sent both disease and its cure into the world (Herskovits, 1938 b, vol. 2, p. 256).

stipation induced by Gajimari's brother, an infusion of *kányá* wood is drunk with *kánwá*, "potash," the *kányá* being sacred to 'Dan Musa.

A remedy for paralysis, caused by the spirit 'UwaRdawa who dwells on the bush pawpaw, is to pulverize pawpaw wood and the root of marga and rub the powder, mixed with cow butter, on the arms and legs of the sufferer. In a medicine for headache, prescribed by a *bóká*, the wood of the *dāšī* tree, sacred to Kure, the spirit who produces this disorder, is utilized. If the cure is successful, a red cock must be sacrificed to Kure at the *jǐgò* of *dāšī* wood. Another headache medicine reveals an extension of this principle. The victim inhales the smoke of burning *màrké* wood. The *màrké* is sacred to Jammarke, a spirit who is the cross-cousin and joking relation of Kure. The connection between the kinds of wood used and the spirit who is the source of the sickness may likewise be indirect, as is seen in a remedy for swelling of the stomach (*kùmbúrin ékì*), a sickness sent by 'Inna. An infusion of *ká'dányà*, *kányá*, and *má'dāčī* woods is made, these being trees that grow in the Fulani cattle camps. Since 'Inna is herself conceived as a Fulani woman, this is an appropriate and adequate medicine.

Comparative Analysis of the 'Iskoki Cult

We must now attempt to assess the role of West African and Mohammedan factors in the development of the 'iskókí cult, and consider the significance of the manner in which these two sources have contributed to the growth of Maguzawa belief for some of the theoretical problems in which we are interested. The point of attack will be the question raised concerning the results of coalescence of features from two cultures in contact where this occurs so thoroughly that identification of the provenience of specific items becomes impossible. As a preliminary, however, it will be necessary to demonstrate, on the one hand, the reality of the West African affiliations of Maguzawa religion, and, on the other, to show that in certain aspects, where correspondences to African Negro custom are lacking, Mohammedan influence must be assumed to have been dominant in the formation of Maguzawa practice in its present form. Following this, the extent to which syncretization of elements from African and Mohammedan sources has taken place will be considered by reference to specific features of the cult in which the working of both African and Mohammedan influences can be inferred. Finally, in the light of these data, the question of the appearance of new cultural features, not present in either of the contributing cultures will be dealt with.

Except in the case of the possession cult where immediate resemblances have already been pointed out,³⁵ the similarities between Maguzawa belief

³⁵ See pp. 49-51 above.

and other West African cults are of a very general nature, consisting for the most part of elaboration by the Maguzawa of features unimportant in other places. Nonetheless the existence of a widely spread West African pattern followed by Maguzawa belief is best demonstrated by a consideration of those cases in which specific Hausa spirits may be identified as the analogues of spirits found among other peoples in this area.³⁶

An outstanding case is that of Gajimari, the rainbow serpent. This spirit, it will be remembered, dwells in wells or ant heaps, and takes the form of a *búdà* snake who rises to drink the water of the sky appearing as a red light when ascending. Thereafter, when he stretches himself out in the sky, he becomes the rainbow. The Yoruba deity, Osumare, whom Farrow identifies with the rainbow, is similarly regarded.³⁷ He is a great snake, dwelling within the earth, who comes up at times to drink water from the sky. We may also compare the Dahomean rainbow serpent Aido Hwedo³⁸ with Gajimari. Without entering here into the subtleties of the Dahomean conception, we can simply state that he takes the form of a snake on earth and a rainbow in the sky. Among the Jukun the concept of the rainbow serpent is found, but he is not regarded as a deity (*jo*). On this subject Meek says, "The rainbow is known as *akuwo* and is a portent of heavy showers. It is believed to be a serpent, the greatest serpent in the world, and to reside in the ground; and when it comes forth it drives the water up to the skies, whence it descends later in the form of rain."³⁹

As we have seen, the rainbow serpent Gajimari and the thunder deity Ra are husband and wife among the Maguzawa; they are indeed but two facets of the same divine force, making a joint appearance in the rainbow. Ra, as a female thunder deity, is in all probability a local Kano development, since she has never been reported in the literature as occurring elsewhere. Tremearne described Gajimari as an hermaphrodite, incorporating the rainbow and thunder aspects in one deity.⁴⁰

The concept of a thunder deity, similar to Ra among the Hausa, is widely distributed in West Africa. A constant feature of the cult is the identifica-

³⁶ Comparisons are only possible with tribes living in those sections of West Africa where large numbers of spirits have been named in the literature. Such reports are available from the Yoruba, the Ewe- and Fon-speaking groups, the Ashanti, and the Jukun-speaking group, and perhaps other tribes living on the Benue. Otherwise, the existence of even a fair number of named spirits, at least as reported, is very sporadic. Caution is thus to be exercised, for "polytheisms" may exist more widely than our available data indicate. Labouret, 1931, pp. 410-413, for instance, reports the existence of pantheons of named spirits among the Dian, Birifor and Lobi which had gone unnoticed by previous observers.

³⁷ 1926, p. 66.

³⁸ Herskovits, 1938 *b*, vol. 2, p. 249.

³⁹ 1931, vol. 2, p. 200.

⁴⁰ 1914, p. 340.

tion of polished neolithic celts, the so-called "thunder stones," with thunderbolts hurled by the deity; a part of this complex includes the belief that after a house has been struck by lightning, a worshipper or priest of this divinity will discover one of these "thunder stones" at the spot. For example, in Ashanti, the "thunder stones" are the axes or hoes of 'Nyame, the Sky-God. "They think that, as they come from 'Nyame, they are endowed with some power of that great spirit, and this is the explanation of their use in connection with *abosom* and their supposed potency as medicine."⁴¹ Similarly, in Dahomey, the "thunder stone" is believed to be deposited at any place where lightning strikes, being the axe of the thunder god Xevioso.⁴² Among the Yoruba, also, when the priests of *Shango*, the thunder deity, find the "thunder stone" where lightning has struck a house, they then proceed to confiscate the victim's property, as rightfully belonging to the god.⁴³ The Jukun have a divinity, Kenjo, resembling Shango, who, among some of the local groups in this tribe, controls the rain. Therefore anyone finding a neolithic implement must hand it to the priest of Kenjo for deposit in the shrine, such implements being regarded as thunderbolts.⁴⁴

A group of Hausa *'iskôkî* who exhibit some points of resemblance to spirits in other West African cultures, are the Y'an Dawa, "children of the forest." These are dwarf or lame hunting spirits, the chief of whom is Gajere or Sarkin Baka, "king of the bow." Their counterparts appear as a class of spirits somewhat distinct from other supernatural beings in Dahomey where they are known as the *aziza*, the ordinary spirits, *vodu*, and the *aziza* being known collectively as *yehwe*.⁴⁵ The *aziza* are small and hairy beings who live in the forest and teach medicine to the hunter who is not afraid of them.⁴⁶ Spieth's description of these creatures as they are envisaged by the Ho-Ewe reminds one of the lameness of many of the Y'an Dawa, "Der Aziza ist ein Wesen das weder Hände noch Füße hat."⁴⁷ Among the Bambara the situation with regard to these creatures is similar to that in Dahomey, for the Bambara *kokolo*, "genies nains," are separate from the ordinary *nyena*, "spirits" of the Bambara; while among the Mossi, according to the same author, the forest spirits are unknown, "ou plus exactment ils sont confondus par ceux-ci avec les Mauvais Esprits." He adds that, "Les details, ou tout au moins certaine details que les Bambaras donnent sur les genies nains sont donné par les Mossi et les Fouses

⁴¹ Rattray, 1923, pp. 322-323.

⁴² Herskovits, 1938 *b*, vol. 2, p. 163.

⁴³ Farrow, 1926, p. 50.

⁴⁴ Meek, 1931, p. 266.

⁴⁵ Herskovits, 1938 *b*, vol. 2, p. 192.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁴⁷ 1911, p. 137.

sur les kinkirsi.”⁴⁸ Among the Yoruba there is a figure called Aroni who is said to be a “forest elf.” A person who faces him boldly will be initiated into medicinal lore.⁴⁹ A similar feature obtains with regard to the Ashanti *mmootia*. According to Rattray, “To serve an apprenticeship with them seems indeed to be considered a preliminary qualification to the profession of Sumankwafo or medicine man.”⁵⁰ The connection of the Hausa forest spirits with medicine, however, is not particularly marked.

Another of the Hausa *‘iskoki* who appears to have some analogues in other West African religions is the obscene spirit, Nakada, who induces a kind of continuous insanity in which the victim eats feces and whose motions, as they can be observed when he possesses someone, include the wiggling of the buttocks and a simulation of intercourse using the branch of a tree as a phallus. With Nakada we may compare the divine trickster Legba in Dahomey, known as Eshu or Elegbara among the neighboring Yoruba, who likewise causes a devotee possessed by him to imitate sexual intercourse, using a wooden phallus.⁵¹ Aku-Maga among the Jukun is a related conception. He is known as *aku agbwe jo shu*, that is, “the deity of the buttock dance,” the buttocks being freely moved in the dances which accompany his public appearances.⁵²

In discussing the West African affiliations of the *‘iskókí* cult, the question naturally arises concerning the connection between spirit worship and what is usually known as ancestor worship. In West Africa generally there is a close connection between these two, and it would seem that in many cases spirit worship has grown out of the ancestral cult. Westermann, for instance, notes a gradual transition from soul concepts to personal protective divinities, to deities.⁵³ A further example from the Yoruba may be cited where the *orishas* or great gods are held to be important ancestors who founded the sibs of the present day.⁵⁴

In the light of the wide distribution and importance of the ancestral cult in all Negro Africa, we may reasonably infer its former existence among the Hausa, even though the influence of Islam has caused only a bare trace of it to be discernible today. The following is an example of what may be a remnant of this cult among the Maguzawa at the present time. At ceremonies which usually take place forty days after the death of an important man, a number of goats and one sheep are killed over his grave.

⁴⁸ Tauxier, 1917, p. 378.

⁴⁹ Farrow, 1926, p. 65.

⁵⁰ 1927, p. 26.

⁵¹ Herskovits, 1938 b, vol. 2, p. 126.

⁵² Meek, 1931, p. 273.

⁵³ Westermann, 1928, p. 189.

⁵⁴ Bascom, 1939, p. 36.

The goats are supplied by survivors of the dead related to him patrilineally, and the sheep is contributed by the relative destined to succeed him as head of the compound. The sacrifice is now generally construed simply as a *sáðákà*, a "pious offering," nor is anything said or done at the grave that would suggest otherwise; the meat of the slaughtered animals is distributed to the neighbors and the poor. When an exceptionally large offering has been given, however, people can be heard to say of the dead man, *yá šá jínà dà gàské*, "he drank a great deal of blood." One older informant, at least, did not hesitate to interpret the sacrifice as an offering to the dead man's soul, *kúrwá*, which drank the blood in the manner of a spirit.

In discussing Maguzawa funeral customs, Krusius merely mentions the offering of appropriate sacrificial animals to the chief *'ískókí*, and says that a prayer is addressed to them in which they are told to accept a *sáðákà* from the deceased. In any event, there is no question of any subsequent sacrifices to the soul of the dead man after the initial one or its continuation by his descendants in such a way as to constitute a true cult of the ancestors.

A possible resemblance which the concept of the soul, termed *kúrwá*, shows to the *'ískókí* is indicated by the fact that the *kúrwá* of a dead man may drink the blood of a domestic animal in the same manner as an *'ískà*. This possibility is enhanced by the fact that this resemblance is recognized by the Maguzawa, and occurs in other situations. Such a connection between the souls of the dead and the spirits who are recipients of public worship is implicit in the intimate relationship between the ancestral cult and the worship of spirits that characterizes West African belief. The form which this takes among the Hausa is indicated by the statement made by one informant, *dúk kúrwá bòrí ċē*, "every soul is a *bòrí*," i.e., spirit. The wider concept of a category of spirits embracing both the souls of living beings and the *'ískókí* thus tends to bring Hausa belief closer to the concepts prevalent in the area than has been realized by earlier students.

That the soul resembles the *'ískókí* is also to be inferred from the Hausa theory of witchcraft. Here, it will be remembered, the souls of witches, in conjunction with the "witch spirits," hunt the soul of a victim which they devour in common. Another Maguzawa belief which reinforces our assumption of a close connection between the human soul and the *'ískókí* is the following: If a man dies while he is still in his prime and desires to continue living among men, his dissatisfaction with his lot is expressed by his *kúrwá* going berserk, killing relatives on both his father's and mother's side. This avenging soul is closely identified with the *'ískà* K'ak'ari. While the two are held to be distinct, they are regarded as being very closely connected, K'ak'ari being conceived as the companion and helper of the

soul. When such a soul thus vents its anger, recourse is had to the "children of the *bòrî*," until one of them is possessed by the spirit K'ak'ari. When he "comes" they plead with him saying,

ké kúrúá kî 'dáu dàngàndà

Thou soul, show patience.

That the development of the Maguzawa *'iskókî* cult cannot be accounted for entirely in terms of indigenous African influences is, however, clear if only because of the presence of the Arabic word, "jinn," freely used by the Maguzawa as a synonym for *'iskà*.⁵⁵ There are, moreover, certain phases of the *'iskókî* cult whose derivation can only be understood by reference to the borrowing of features characteristic of the Mohammedan belief in jinn. A significant example is the division made by the Maguzawa of the *'iskókî* into Mohammedan or white, and pagan, or black. It is a Moslem dogma that some of the jinn are Moslem and others represent various types of infidels and pagans. This concept is based on the Koran itself, which states that some jinn are destined for hell,⁵⁶ while others, who listened to Mohammed's preaching, were converted.⁵⁷ These "Moslem" jinn are described in the following terms:

The good Jinn acquit themselves of the imperative duties of religion; namely, prayer, alms-giving, fasting during the month of Ramadan and pilgrimage to Mekkeh and Mount 'Arafat; but in the performance of these duties they are generally invisible to human beings.⁵⁸

In considering some of the aspects of the *'iskà* cult in which both Negro and Mohammedan influences have been operative, we may begin with the theory of causation of disease by the *'iskókî*. Allusion has already been made to the Dahomean doctrine that the spirits, *vody*, sent disease into the world.⁵⁹ The manner in which a *vody* punishes someone who has incurred his wrath is by inflicting him with disease. However, the number of cases in which specific deities cause specific diseases, as is the case among the Hausa, is small. The connection of a given spirit with a particular disease appears similarly limited among the Yoruba. Shakpanna, the analogue of Sagbata in Dahomey, here also causes smallpox, but this appears to be the

⁵⁵ This same phenomenon of the identification of African spirits with the Mohammedan jinn has occurred at least at two other points widely separated from the Hausa under contact with Islam—on the upper Niger (Tauxier, 1927, p. 8), and in East Africa among the Swahili-speaking peoples where the Arabic Shaitan (black jinn) are identified with the native *mzimu* (Kuritschoner, 1936, p. 209).

⁵⁶ Koran, vii, 177.

⁵⁷ Koran, lxxii, 1-3.

⁵⁸ Lane, 1859, vol. 1, p. 47.

⁵⁹ See p. 54 above.

only case.⁶⁰ Among the Jukun, the spirits cause epidemic diseases, deaths from sunstroke, epileptic fits and fevers, and a certain amount of specialization is exercised by the spirits who bring on various illnesses. Ophthalmia is caused by Ayo, rheumatism and arthritis by Agbadu, and abdominal trouble by Akura.⁶¹ The concept that specific spirits cause definite diseases is thus seen to be widely spread in non-Mohammedan cultures of West Africa. We may next glance at Mohammedan conceptions of the cause of illness. According to Doutté, "chez les musulmans, principalement chez nos indigènes de l'Afrique du Nord . . . les maladies sont essentiellement des djinn, surtout les maladies épidémiques."⁶² A fuller statement is that of Westermarck:

The most usual way in which *jnūn* make their presence felt is by causing disturbances of the health, especially sudden ones like convulsions, epileptic and paralytic fits, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, and fits of madness, or epidemics like cholera and measles. . . .⁶³

The jinn are held to be particularly associated with various types of insanity, the ordinary Arabic expression for insane being *majnūn*, "possessed by jinn." Mohammedan conceptions of the role of jinn in causing insanity likewise find expression among the pagan Hausa, where insanity is prominent among the difficulties brought on by the *'iskôkî*, and this is a belief not found generally among non-Mohammedan Negro Africans.

There is also a Moslem counterpart for the idea the medicine derives from the spirits, which is explicit in Maguzawa belief. It is commonly held by Moslems that Solomon used his power to compel the jinn to give him talismans and other medicines. If the spirits cause illness it is only logical that at least one type of cure should consist of sacrifices to propitiate them. Very commonly in West Africa such animals as fowls or goats are the offerings. Likewise, in North Africa, the same kinds of offerings are made to marabouts and to the jinn for recovery from illness, a black bull or black he-goat being preferred in sacrifices to more important marabouts, while a black chicken or black cock is offered to the lesser marabouts and to the jinn.⁶⁴

It has been shown that the essential purpose of Hausa sacrifices is to provide the spirits with the blood which is their sustenance. There are

⁶⁰ Farrow, 1926, p. 56.

⁶¹ Meek, 1931, p. 310.

⁶² Doutté, 1909, p. 221.

⁶³ Westermarck, 1926, vol. 1, p. 271. "*Jnūn*" is the colloquial Moroccan plural of the Arabic word for jinn.

⁶⁴ Doutté, 1909, p. 437. Marabout is a term current in western North Africa equivalent to *walî*, "saint"; that is, a man possessing *baraka* to an extraordinary degree.

sporadic evidences in West Africa of the importance of blood in the sacrifices, but it is seldom stated explicitly that the spirit drinks the blood. An early instance is recorded by Bosman from Benin where "Sometimes they offer a cock; but then the idol hath only the blood, because they like the flesh very much themselves."⁶⁵ A fowl offered to the Yoruban deity, Ogun, is consumed by those who offer it, but the blood must first be poured out.⁶⁶ In Ashanti sacrifices, "in each case the blood is allowed to fall upon the contents in the brass pan."⁶⁷ The blood of a sacrificial goat given in Dahomey is poured over the structure sacred to the *vody*.⁶⁸ A more explicit statement bearing on this point is given for the Jukun. The priest of Kenjo offers his deity a libation of new beer and the blood of a goat and chicken. Before the man who provides the sacrificial animals delivers them to the priest, he enters the sacred enclosure and addresses a prayer to the ancestors calling on them to receive with favor the blood of the animals, and to be satisfied with that, and not demand human blood.⁶⁹ In Moslem countries jinn are believed to hover about wherever there is blood.⁷⁰ When sacrifices are made to Sidi Ya'qub et Tafrisi, near Tlemcen in North Africa, the blood of the chickens sacrificed to him is spurted on the ground and the jinn come every night to drink of it.⁷¹ In Algeria it is believed that the jinn Lazerour' hastens to drink the blood of the murdered man.⁷²

Another aspect of the *'iskókí* cult in which the result of both Negro and Mohammedan influences are to be seen concerns the localization of the *'iskókí* in definite kinds of trees. In general, larger trees are connected with the spirits. For example, wide-spread attention is paid to the silk cotton tree in West Africa.⁷³ Among the Yoruba, a sacrifice is offered every month at the Iroko, "African oak," while the Ayan tree is sacred to the thunder deity, Shango, and from it the Shango-axe is always made.⁷⁴ Among Mohammedan peoples trees are mentioned prominently among the places frequented by the jinn.⁷⁵ Here again, we have a situation where Hausa concepts and behaviour are to be regarded as representing an amalgam of Mohammedan and Negro elements.⁷⁶

⁶⁵ Bosman, 1814, p. 531.

⁶⁶ Farrow, 1926, p. 97.

⁶⁷ Rattray, 1923, p. 149.

⁶⁸ Herskovits, 1938 b, vol. 2, p. 184.

⁶⁹ Meek, 1931, p. 267.

⁷⁰ Westermarck, 1926, vol. 1, p. 273.

⁷¹ Doutté, 1909, p. 474.

⁷² Villot, 1888, pp. 210-211.

⁷³ Farrow, 1926, p. 13, states that the silk cotton tree is highly venerated throughout West Africa.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷⁵ Westermarck, 1926, vol. 1, p. 261.

⁷⁶ The remarks of Marty, 1920-21, vol. 2, p. 389, on this subject are worth quoting.

How far the results of the acculturative process are seen to be something more than a mere simple mechanical combination of elements from contributing cultures, can be illustrated most strikingly from the Hausa data by a consideration of the "Mohammedan" *'iskókí*. The chief of these, Malam 'Alhaji, is conceived of as a learned old man, a pilgrim. White, the color of the garments of the pilgrim to Mecca in the state of sanctity known as *'ihrām*, is made the keynote of his personality, his garments all being white, while his sacrifice consists of a white sheep. In keeping with his character as a Moslem, sacrifices are offered to him at a cleared rectangular space which represents the place for praying. (Obviously the existence of such a character among the *'iskókí* as Malam 'Alhaji is impossible without an intimate acquaintance with Moslem ways and practices; hence the appearance of Malam 'Alhaji and the other Moslem spirits are phenomena which can only take place under conditions of contact.) However, Malam 'Alhaji is not, as one might assume at first blush, a spirit whose cult has been borrowed from Mohammedan sources.⁷⁷ It is safe to say that in all the shadowy world of the jinn there is no figure with the characteristics of Malam 'Alhaji. In other words, we have here, under the stimulus of Moslem contact, the creation of new spirits, an invention, indeed, in the field of religion. The appearance of new cultural features under conditions of contact is thus clearly demonstrated.

Talking of the *dasiri* trees, sacred to the *nyena*, "spirits," which are found in every Bambara village, he says, "avec les générations qui viendront, cette croyance s'amalgamera avec l'Islam, et le *dasiri* deviendra simplement le séjour de djinn."

⁷⁷ Brief mention should be made at this point, that the Mohammedan jinn, while they are named, have characteristically only vague personalities. We find long lists of jinn who are to be invoked, whose names are formed by permutations of the initial consonants and by the endings *īsu*, *ūsū*, representing the Greek *os*, and *-ā'il*, form the Hebrew *-ā'ēl*. This point could be abundantly illustrated by data from the Hausa Moslems, but here we shall merely quote what Doutté, 1909, p. 119, has to say on the subject, "le nom est souvent, à peu près, ce qu'il y a de plus claire dans leur personnalité qui reste très confuse."

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MALAMS AND THE 'ĪSKÓKÍ CULT AMONG MOSLEM HAUSA

In the chapter devoted to a discussion of the contacts of Kano with Mohammedan culture, the relative slightness of direct intercourse with other Mohammedan peoples in the spread of Islam among the Hausa people has been pointed out. Here we shall seek to document this point by showing how Mohammedan doctrines are even today diffused among the Hausa through the agency of a class of native learned men, rather than by first-hand contact; and how, accompanying the lack of direct intensive contacts with other Moslem folk, a considerable number of independent interpretations of the literary sources in which Mohammedan doctrines are embodied have resulted.

As we turn, therefore, from our consideration of pagan religion to that of the Moslems, the existence of new factors which in the final analysis depend upon the introduction of writing immediately comes to mind. One of the most striking of these factors has to do with the greatly differing degrees of participation in religious activities by various groups of the Moslem population as compared with the pagans. Among the Maguzawa, the only factors producing differences in the degree of participation in religious life are those of age and sex; this arising from the tradition that the older men, who in general are compound heads, perform the important domestic rites. However, compensations for not participating in such rituals are ample, there being many individual outlets for religious expression which are open to the women and young men. The former, indeed, are most prominent in carrying on the aspect of individual religious life which is furthest developed among the Maguzawa, namely the possession cult.

On the other hand, among the Moslem population, a significant gap exists between men and women and between learned and unlearned. The great mass of the rural population, and most of the women, even in the cities, have only the minimum knowledge required to be a Moslem at all—that is, the ability to recite the prayers in Arabic (without necessarily knowing their meaning), and a knowledge of the elementary religious duties. In Kano city the majority of the boys receive some formal instruction, usually between the ages of five and eight.¹ This enables them to read the Koran,

¹ According to a Hausa text recorded by Mischlich, 1908, p. 20, at Hausa centers other than Kano, only a minority of the boys receive any formal education.

but without understanding its meaning, and gives them a somewhat fuller knowledge of the requirements of their religion. Greater participation in religious life is reserved for those who devote their time to learned pursuits, whom the Hausa call Malams (*mâlâmî*, plural, *mâlâmáy*).² The existence of such a class of learned specialists accompanies the spread of Islam everywhere. Thus a class analogous to the Hausa Malams appears, for instance, in the 'Alfa of the Timbuktu region, concerning whom Houdas says, " 'El-Fa ou 'Alfa est un titre analogue a celui de si ou sidi chez les Arabes. Il se donne à toute personne ayant une certaine instruction ou quelque renom de piété."³

The leisure required for the pursuit of these literary interests requires a certain amount of freedom from manual labor, and this, in the case of the more important Malams, is provided by subsuming the relationship of pupil to teacher under the Hausa pattern of apprenticeship which obtains in cases where a trade is acquired and not inherited.⁴ It is necessary in this case for the pupil to stay for years with his master in order to acquire the knowledge necessary to be a Malam himself. The '*almájìRí* like any other apprentice, lives in his tutor's house and assists him with the work on the farm. When a Malam has many pupils, he is, of course, entirely freed from this kind of work and can devote himself exclusively to study and learning.

As compared to others who have apprentices, the Malam commands an additional source of support. The giving of alms as a religious duty is one of the fundamentals of Islam. It finds institutional expression in the *zàkà*, a religious tax, which though collected by the same administrative machinery as the other taxes, was supposed to be used only for charitable purposes.⁵ In Kano, where this tax took the form of a tithe upon the staple crops of guinea corn and millet, the Malams received a large share of the proceeds. In addition to the public *zàkà*, there is a private *zàkà*. A rich man is expected to contribute one-fourtieth of his money income for pious purposes, and one of the ways in which this obligation is met is by gifts to Malams. The giving of occasional alms, *sàdákà*, is also considered a part of the general religious duty of alms-giving, and full advantage is taken of this when the pupils of a Malam beg for the benefit of their teacher.

Some of the more important Malams reach financial independence through the position they hold in the political hierarchy. All the important *hàkìimáy*, "ministers," have Malams attached to them who live on their bounty. Moreover, some positions in the hierarchy can only be filled by

² "*Mâlâmî*" is derived from the Arabic *mu'allim*, "teacher."

³ *Tedzkiret en Nisian*, translation, p. 20, footnote 2.

⁴ It should be remarked, however, that a father who wishes to transmit his occupation to a son sometimes apprentices him to a colleague.

⁵ The past tense is used advisedly. Under the English administration the distinction has been obliterated. However, the private *zàkà* is still continued. For the provisions of the *zàkà*, see el Kairawānī, p. 84.

Malams. The offices of Limam, "prayer leader," and 'Alkali, "judge," were of necessity held by such men, who were ministers in their own right and in former times were supported by taxes imposed on villages under their control. It was also said that the important position of Waziri, "vizier," was only held by a Malam.

It will be evident from the foregoing that there are large variations in the degree of importance and financial status of different Malams, with which the varying degrees of learning, ranging from a mere knowledge of the Koran and a few medicines, to what may be a considerable knowledge of Arabic grammar, law, astrology, and medicines are roughly correlated. There are no rigid lines of demarcation between Malams, but in general one distinguishes those who know only the Koran from those who know "books," *littàttàfáy*, in addition; that is, all Arabic works outside the Koran. A lesser Malam, *k'àràmín málàmí*, "small Malam," studies with an important Malam, *bàbbán málàmí*, "big Malam." A Malam attached to the Emir or an important district head is a *málàmín fádà*, "Malam of the palace," and his pursuit of worldly power is sometimes contrasted with the retirement of the *málàmín kírgì*, "Malam of the cowhide."⁶

Just as important as these variations in degree of learning and wealth are others which largely depend on the particular background and personal disposition of the Malam. Those whose training was with Malams having a puritanical bent, or was obtained under the influence of the religious orders are likely to take a much stricter attitude towards customs which they consider pagan than others who shrug their shoulders and tolerantly say that there is always bound to be "ignorance," *jáhílčè*. Actually, it would seem as though a certain amount of this is purposely permitted, for the contrast between the strict behaviour of a Malam and the lax behaviour and greater ignorance of the rest of the populace underscores a mark of class distinction which the Malams would be greatly loath to give up. One Malam, for instance, was proud of the fact that, in praying, he did not face due east, as most people did, but northeast which is the true direction of Mecca from Kano. He explained that only a Malam could be expected to know this and carry it out in practice.

How Mohammedan teachings spread from the Malams to the people in general can be realized if we consider for a moment the functions of the Malam in Hausa society. His activities are at once those of a family physician and family spiritual adviser. When a child is born, he names it seven days after birth, and gives it a medicine consisting of a piece of leather containing Koranic verses to be hung around its neck. When the child is old enough to "have sense," *wàyó*, he will be sent to the Malam

⁶ This distinction is noted in a text recorded by Mischlich, 1908, p. 25.

to learn to read the Koran and be instructed in the religious duties incumbent on a Moslem. When the time for marriage arrives it will be the Malam who performs the ceremony and who will give his protegee medicines to tide over the dangerous period of *'āngwānčì*, "state of being a groom." Finally, when death comes, he presides at the funeral. At all stages of life the Malam is called on to administer medicines if a member of the household is ill. This is not the entire story of his duties, however, for the conscientious Moslem consults his Malam whenever he has doubts as to whether some particular action is in conformity with the Moslem religious law, while the Malam himself may volunteer an opinion should he deem this a help in rooting out practices that seem to him to be pagan. In these dealings between the Malams and the rest of the population, great differences are to be seen on both sides—differences, as the natives phrase it, of individual temperament, *"hálí."* Some people are scrupulous in seeking advice and follow it; others are careless. Some Malams, on the other hand, are zealous in stamping out pagan customs, while others are indifferent.

Taking into consideration, then, the importance and influence of the Malams, their opinions as to what is reprehensible and therefore to be suppressed will, in the long run, be an important factor in directing what and how much of aboriginal pagan custom and belief shall survive. Hence, it is essential in any consideration of the acculturative factors operating in shaping the fate of the *'iskŏkĭ* cult after the conversion of its adherents to see in what terms the Mohammedan Malam conceives of Maguzawa religious activity.

The key to the Hausa Malam's attitude here lies in the identification he draws between the native Hausa *'iskŏkĭ* with black, or pagan jinn. We have seen that it is a Mohammedan dogma that there are both Moslem and non-Moslem jinn.⁷ Some of these latter are Christian, Jewish, or Zoroastrian, while still others practice various kinds of paganism. The Hausa Moslems conceive of each country as having jinn which resemble its human inhabitants. It was said, for instance, that there are Gwari jinn in Gwari country, and that when some of the Gwari became converted, some of the jinn embraced Islam at the same time. The casting of spells by means of incantations called *sùrkùllé*, a practice said to have originated with the Fulani and still restricted almost exclusively to them, was revealed by "white" Fulani jinn, the jinn being "white" because the Fulani are almost entirely Mohammedan. It was only natural for the Malams to conclude, then, that the *'iskŏkĭ* were jinn of the Maguzawa, the black jinn native to Hausa country.

As a consequence, the cult of the *'iskŏkĭ* was identified in the minds

⁷ See p. 60 above.

of the Malams with black magic (Arabic *sihr*)⁸ known as *sìhìRì* or *c'áfì* to the Hausa, for black magic in Mohammedan countries chiefly involves drawing black jinn into one's service. Hence, though all phases of the rites of the *'ískókí* are condemned by the Malams as being *c'áfì*, no doubt is thrown on the actual existence of the *'ískókí* nor is the reality of the effects they produce doubted. Pagan religious practices, like black magic, are not held unefficacious; they are simply contrary to religion and hence reprehensible.⁹ The maintenance of this viewpoint by the Malams naturally increases the difficulty of suppressing pagan religious customs. In the case of the pagan domestic rites, the fact that the very general benefits expected from them could be obtained by the Moslem substitute of prayer has encouraged their disappearance. The *bòrì* cult, however, has been more persistent. Though condemned by the Malams and regarded askance by the more respectable, it continues to flourish. People will not easily give up an opportunity to recover from an illness. If the Malam's or *màymagànì*'s medicine fails, out of sheer necessity one turns to the "children of the *bòrì*"; if initiation into the cult is the price of recovery, the sick person cannot well refuse. Even those among the Malams who condemn the bori cult most vigorously would not think of questioning the reality of the cures effected. One Malam, for instance, when questioned on his attitude towards *bòrì*, stated vehemently that *bòrì* was a lie. When asked to elaborate on this statement, however, he said, "The person recovers, but God does not like it that way."

In conclusion it may be indicated that in revealing a mechanism by which belief in the existence of pagan supernatural beings may survive after the adoption of a monotheistic religion, the data seem to point a problem of considerable importance not only for the study of acculturation, but in the dynamic aspects of the general field of comparative religion. A state of affairs like that found among the Hausa seems to have existed, for example, among the early Christians who never doubted the existence of the pagan gods they condemned, considering them to be demons. A careful analysis of the manner in which this has taken place in these and similar instances might be expected to lead to conclusions of wide significance.

⁸ For the reality of jinn and of black magic (*sihr*) as a Mohammedan dogma, see Doutté, 1909, p. 335.

⁹ The question is one of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the auspices under which the act is carried out, not its harmful or beneficial effect socially. One may seriously harm a personal enemy by using the correct methods, while the curing of a sick person by the *bòrì* rites is unlawful.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

Islam first reached Kano, in a specifically Maghrebine form, through a secondary diffusion from the Mohammedan Negroes of the central Niger region. In the subsequent Mohammedanization of the people, actual contacts with Moslem folk played a minor role as compared to that of a native class of learned men, known as Malams. These constituted in effect the acculturating element, passing on what they found in the literary sources at their disposal to the population at large. The present results suggest that in future studies of the contact of literate non-European cultures with pre-literate cultures, the role of the literary transmission of cultural elements be subjected to careful analysis.

It is proposed that more intensive studies of the contacts of Islam with Negro peoples in other areas be undertaken. We know that in some cases identifications similar to that between the Hausa *'iskókkí* and the Mohammedan jinn have taken place, but the data at our disposal concerning the manner in which this has occurred is meager. A more extensive knowledge of what has happened in these instances would provide a firmer base for conclusions as to the effect of Mohammedan-Negro contacts.

Our analysis of pagan Hausa religion likewise showed that new cultural features, not present in either of the contributing cultures, appear under conditions of intensive contact. It is this point which Malinowski evidently has in mind when he talks of the new culture which emerges from the fusion of the two older ones as a *tertium quid*, a synthesis which cannot be adequately described as a simple mixture of elements from the pre-existing store.¹ Linton expresses the same point of view when he remarks that:

... the end products of culture fusion resemble a chemical rather than a mechanical mixture. The resulting culture will not be a simple aggregation of elements all of which can be traced to one or the other of the parent cultures, but a new thing many of whose patterns cannot be directly referred to either.²

The Mohammedan learned men, through the identification of the spirits worshipped by the pagan Hausa with the unbelieving, or pagan jinn postulated by Moslem religious doctrine, entertain a belief in the actual existence

¹ Redfield, 1934, p. 58 and Parsons, 1936, p. 479.

² Linton, 1940, pp. 512-13.

of and power of these spirits, and thus create a condition which permits considerable survivals of the *'iskókí* cult among the mass of Moslem Hausa. This phenomenon points to the problem of investigating in other areas the mechanisms by which belief in pagan deities has survived the adoption of a monotheistic religion by their worshippers.

In our consideration of pagan Hausa religion, beliefs concerning the African *'iskókí* were found to be merged with those concerning the Mohammedan jinn. An entire series of comparable results have been noted among New World Negroes, where identifications of spirits worshipped in West Africa with Catholic saints have taken place independently in several regions.³ Perhaps in these instances an explanation similar to that advanced above in the case of the identification of African spirits with Mohammedan jinn may be considered—namely, the existence of certain basic similarities underlying the cultures of the two areas involved. It may be that the cultures of the Old World have a fundamental unity so that when two cultures with Old World affiliations come into contact, the merging of similar features may be expected to occur. This explanation is advanced merely as an hypothesis to be tested, for the data presented by Redfield and Parsons show that such processes do occur, though perhaps on a smaller scale, when Spanish culture comes into contact with certain Indian cultures of the New World.

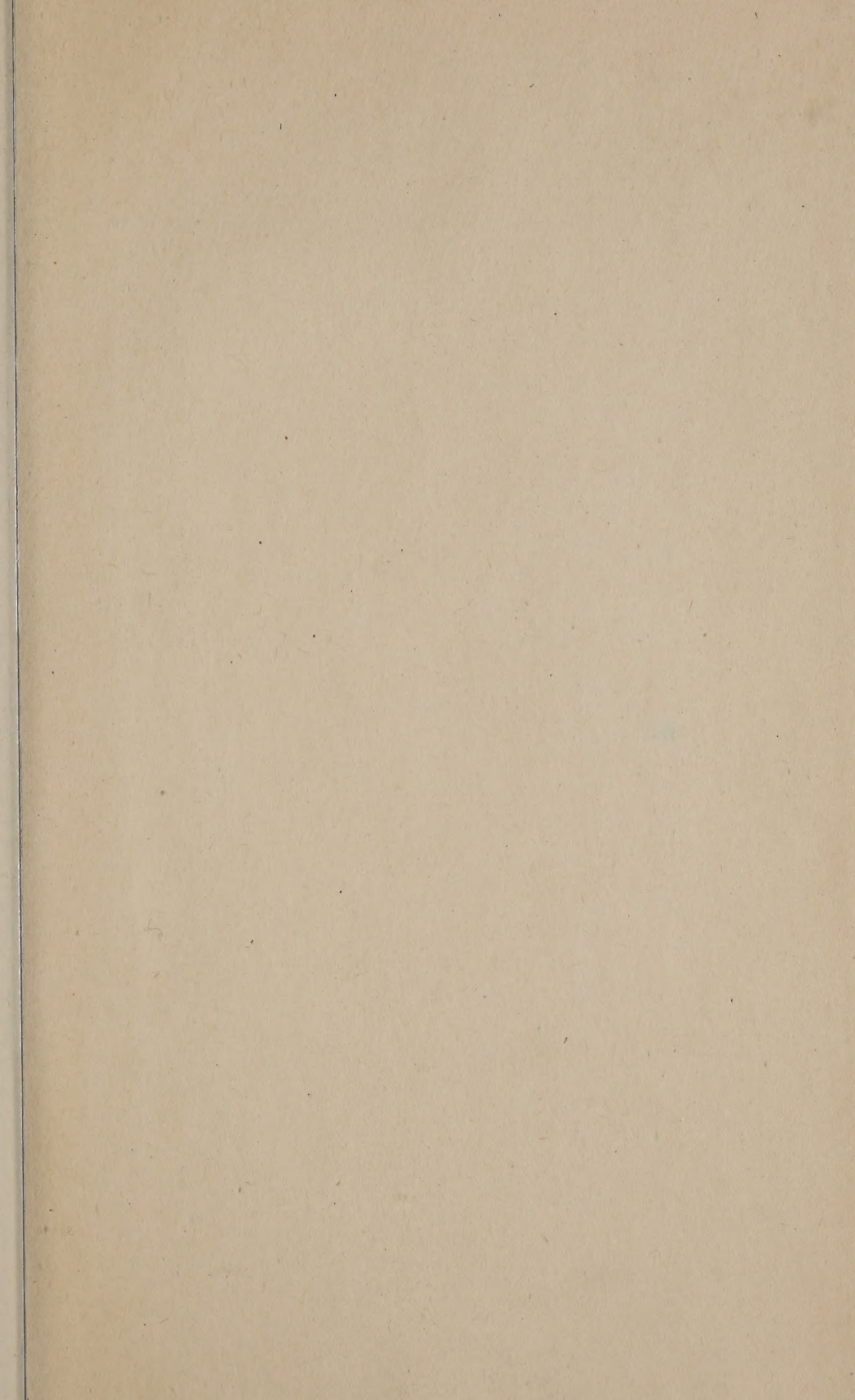
³ These have been reported from Brazil (Ramos, 1934), Cuba (Ortiz, no date), and Haiti (Herskovits, 1937).

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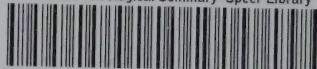
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